

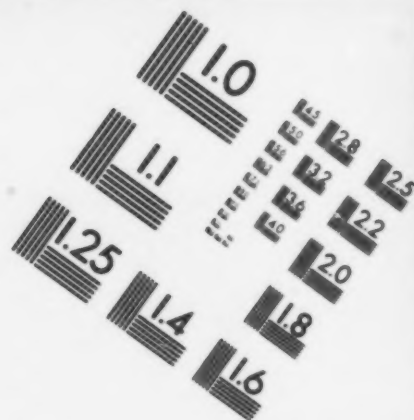
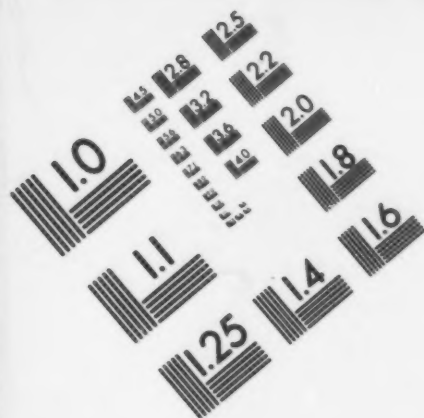
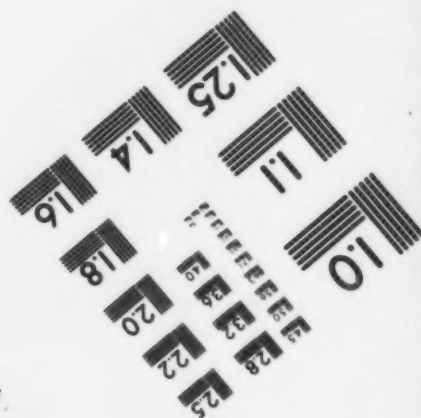
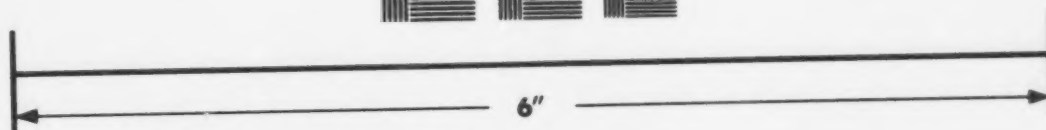
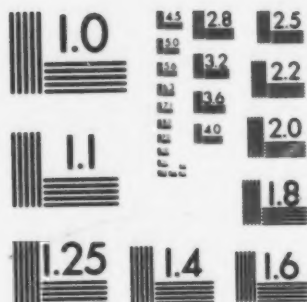


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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-114
Tuesday
14 June 1988

Daily Report

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Further on Meetings, Speeches at UN Session

Orzechowski Meets Shamir

LD1106083988 Warsaw PAP in English
0048 GMT 11 Jun 88

[Text] New York, June 10—Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, who was visiting New York to attend the 3rd special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament, met with Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir. Referring to the course of celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the two discussed the state of and trends in the development of bilateral contacts with regard to the current situation in the Middle East and prospects for the start of peace process.

Orzechowski also met with representatives of the Presidium of the World Peace Council—observers at the debates of the special session. The Council's president Romesh Chandra briefed the Polish minister on the activity of the body and the stand on the session's agenda.

Orzechowski discussed the expanded version of the Jaruzelski Plan on decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe. The sides underlined the great importance of the activeness of peace organizations and movements in mobilizing the international community for promoting the cause of disarmament, detente and peaceful cooperation.

Orzechowski on Disarmament

LD1106161688 Warsaw PAP in English
0043 GMT 11 Jun 88

[Text] New York, June 10—In an interview granted to PAP at the Polish U.N. mission here Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski stressed the role of the United Nations in the area of disarmament and discussed Poland's relations with foreign countries, including the Vatican, the FRG and the U.S.A.

Disarmament is a set of measures leading to a lasting, universal and equal-for-all security, he said.

The feeling of such security is, in turn, an indispensable condition for creating a peaceful, cooperating, partnerly world which jointly solves problems facing it. It is against such broad background that the role of the United Nations, the most universal international organization of the present time, should be viewed.

One can venture to say that the session will end bringing better results than were expected. We expect a substantial final document to be adopted, a document stressing the United Nations' growing role in the process of disarmament, the forum of the disarmament conference in Geneva included.

I can state with full conviction that what is taking place in the General Assembly's hall, and to a still greater degree in the lobby, is a very sensitive barometer of all that is happening in relations on the Moscow-Washington line. It can be easily observed how this relations are reflected in the attitudes of delegates, their moods and declarations—from a kind of political depression and hopelessness to moments of euphoria. This is just like that also now, after the Moscow summit. The general feeling is that the summit signifies a clear improvement in the international climate. An era of nuclear disarmament has started. The dialogue of the two superpowers is intensifying regardless of all the existing problems.

And yet another thing. Here, in the U.N., in forum of a universal organization of states, the fact can be felt almost physically that the quality of relations USSR-USA has a direct bearing on the role of small and medium-sized states throughout the world. It is no coincidence that the 3rd session is manifesting a real explosion of various kinds of regional initiatives concerning disarmament. A definite regularity is thus confirmed once again that in conditions of detente, growing confidence, political dialogue and diplomatic negotiations there exists a demand, greater than ever before, for true initiatives of small and medium-sized states. These initiatives cease to be solely an expression of good intentions or good will. Chances for their realization, chances for taking a place in the great work of consolidating peace and in the process of disarmament are growing tangibly.

The Jaruzelski Plan met with big interest in various parts of the world and in various states—not only in Europe. First of all there are two reasons for this:

The Plan is very well "historically timed". For a long time all people have realized the fact that Europe is the biggest arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons. At present—after the withdrawal of intermediate and shorter range missiles—the following question is emerging: What next, how should the future of disarmament look like. The answer to this question is just the expanded version of the Polish initiative.

The Plan is comprehensive, very concrete, and at the same time open to partners' suggestions. And that is why it has been regarded that it can become the focus of discussion and negotiations.

Chnoupek, Shevardnadze Meet

LD1006191688 Prague CTK in English
1833 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 10 (CTK correspondent)—Foreign Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek of Czechoslovakia and Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union met here today to discuss some international topics.

They stated that the Soviet-U.S. summit has favourably influenced the present international situation, and underlined the significance of the fact that both sides confirmed their readiness to finalize work on a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons of the two countries, to reach progress in the sphere of limitation of and ban on nuclear weapons tests, conventional disarmament, and a complete ban on and liquidation of chemical weapons.

The two officials underlined the significance of the 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament which is taking place in a favourable atmosphere, being characterized by effort for a constructive solution of disarmament issues, support for the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and search for ways to strengthen confidence. In this connection the ministers pointed out the importance of the memorandum "security through disarmament" submitted to the session by Warsaw Treaty member states.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Eduard Shevardnadze also exchanged views on bilateral relations in view of the implementation of the conclusions of talks between Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes with Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and of the visit to the Soviet Union by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak.

Chnoupek, Orzechowski Talk

LD0906102188 Prague CTK in English
1731 GMT 8 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 8 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, currently attending the 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, met here today with his Polish colleague Marian Orzechowski.

They discussed international topics in the light of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow and in connection with the General Assembly session. Also discussed during their meeting was further all-round extension of relations between the two countries.

Chnoupek, Cypriot Leader Meet

LD0906212688 Prague CTK in English
1850 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 9 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek was received here today by Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasilou.

Bohuslav Chnoupek informed him of the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states and of the response to this proposal in the world.

Yeoryios Vasilou and Bohuslav Chnoupek paid attention to the development of the European process, prospects for a successful culmination of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the states—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the situation in central Europe and the Mediterranean.

They discussed the possibilities of further development of relations between the two countries and some issues of the present international situation.

Mladenov Speaks

AU1306144188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Jun 88 p 5

[Speech by Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee, Politburo member and Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, read on 10 June at the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament, entitled "Protection of Peace Requires Common Efforts"]

[Text] New York, 10 June (BTA correspondent). Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, spoke today at the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. He said:

Comrade Chairman,

Please allow me to cordially greet you and wish you success in implementing your responsible tasks. Your election to this distinguished post is a new confirmation of GDR authority and its contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament.

I would also like to greet Mr Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary-general, whose tireless activity for the cause of security and understanding evokes sincere respect and enjoys our total support.

Comrade Chairman, for the third time in the last 10 years the UN member countries are holding a special session devoted to disarmament. The international public has always attributed a special importance to this issue. However, today it acquires a qualitatively new dimension against the background of the realities of the nuclear-space century.

We know very well what I mean by this. Security can no longer be guaranteed by military means when great arsenals of nuclear weapons exist. A continuation of the arms race will logically lead us toward a nuclear disaster. The solution is in reaching a political settlement, renouncing the suicidal weapons, demilitarizing international relations, and constructing a nuclear-free world without violence.

The new political thinking answers this pressing need. It implements a real conceptual and psychological breakthrough and evokes mankind's sense of self-preservation. The results which have been achieved in this

direction are obvious. The present session is taking place in a new atmosphere. The growing understanding of peaceful coexistence not only as a wish but as an objective necessity is the great truth of today's world. According to the words of Mikhail Gorbachev, we should all now better understand how much we depend on each other, sense that we are living in a mutually dependent world, and that we are all inseparable parts of the uniform modern civilization.

The USSR-U.S. dialogue is an undoubtedly and exceptionally important stimulus for positive change. The Bulgarian Government is greeting this dialogue as a major manifestation of statesmanlike wisdom and responsibility.

The INF Treaty, which was ratified a few days ago, has a great historical importance. The treaty eliminates two classes of the most modern weapons, and thus truly decreases the acuteness of the military-strategic confrontation. From a political point of view, the tension has significantly decreased, suspicion has subsided, and mutual confidence has strengthened. The world is becoming convinced that the possibility exists of successfully solving even the most complex contradictions in the sphere of the states' military-political security.

The most recent Moscow agreements have an important consolidating role in this respect. The Moscow summit made an important contribution to working out a common fundamental attitude toward the issue of disarmament. It demonstrated the great potential of realism in international politics. As Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, points out in his greetings message to the present session, the results of the Moscow talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan once more confirmed that in world politics even the greatest obstacles and prejudices can be overcome by common sense and goodwill. The new political thinking is making headway in interstate relations. The concern about universal human values is increasingly prevailing over narrow class and national interests.

The concrete steps toward real disarmament, which are being implemented, are convincingly confirming the correctness of the concept of security through disarmament, whose foundations have been incorporated in the concluding document of the first UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. The soberly-thinking forces of all continents and countries, the states of the two basic military-political alliances, the Nonaligned Movement, and the Delhi Six are partners in the change which has taken place. Millions of people throughout the world stand united in the struggle against the nuclear threat.

We see the present session as the most representative forum of the states on the entire range of disarmament issues. We hope that it will generate even more fruitful ideas, aimed at achieving progress in this area. It is

vitaly important to mark practical ways and approaches toward removing the military structures and strengthening the foundations of world peace and security. Therefore, we hope that the session adopts an essential document, which could adequately reflect the wishes of our time.

We are convinced that the proposal to create a comprehensive system of peace and international security within the UN framework represents a broad, and simultaneously flexible, platform of restructuring international relations on a peaceful, humane, and democratic foundation.

Naturally, we understand that real sources of military threat exist. The negative power stereotypes have great momentum. It is necessary that all countries refrain from actions which could aggravate the disarmament process. We think that it would be beneficial if the session tries to define a principle on the inadmissibility of the attempts to obtain military advantage under the pretext of compensation and modernization. It is impossible to achieve security and stability if at the expense of disarmament in one area or geographic region, the arms race develops in another area or world region.

The failure in turning the peace process into an irreversible process was the Achilles' heel in the area of detente and the attempts to reach disarmament in past years. Today we must unite our efforts in turning this process into a constant and steady one. This is the task of all states—whether big or small, nuclear states, or states which possess no nuclear weapons.

The past is a source of lessons. We can all learn from the lessons of history. We have all made mistakes. Everyone must travel his part of the road toward achieving a mutually acceptable solution to the problems which are still dividing our small world. If we do not want to repeat our past mistakes we must expand and strengthen our dialogue. We must not confine it only to a bilateral or regional framework. In this respect there will be little gain in unjustifiably protracting talks, playing a "game of numbers," raising excessive noise around secondary issues, or feigning an ostensible disarmament activity. The thoughts—if somebody is still entertaining them—that only certain countries are interested in disarmament, and that other states have the "privilege" to pose conditions or remain as a passive observer, are simply harmful.

I think that my colleague, Mr Genscher, was totally correct in saying recently that it is necessary to conduct a real peaceful attack against prejudices, flamboyance, and thoughtlessness.

Comrade Chairman,

As we know, a meeting of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact Member States took place in March 1988 in Sofia. That meeting

produced many ideas, which clarified our views on the basic aspects of security and disarmament in Europe and the world. An appeal to the CSCE participating states was adopted in this respect. It expressed the conviction that along with the INF Treaty, it is now especially important to reach an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of U.S. and USSR strategic-strike weapons, while strictly observing the ABM Treaty. This accomplishment would create a comprehensive atmosphere of successfully solving the complex of disarmament issues, and more specifically, issues relating to nuclear disarmament.

The establishment of lasting peace through disarmament requires a really fundamental approach on the part of all participants in the international dialogue. In order to achieve substantial results the states must be guided not by the obsolete theory of "intimidation," but by a qualitatively new approach toward the nuclear factor. This is being dictated by the global interest to remove not only the impending threat, but also the potential for annihilating mankind. Such an approach, the only one that offers a solution, presupposes a joint action on the part of all nuclear countries, aimed toward the gradual, and ultimately, total liquidation of the most terrible weapons of mass destruction.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that a conference of the five nuclear states on discussing and adopting principles on mutual relations, which would minimize the chance of a nuclear war, would play a great stabilizing role even without achieving a total consensus on military-strategic philosophy.

Preventing the arms race in space must become an integral part of world peace and security. This is a very important task of the international community. For this purpose it is necessary to conclude a treaty on banning space-strike weapons, banning antitank systems, and ensuring the nonviolability of space objects. It is necessary to create an international system of control with a view toward preventing the deployment of any weapons in space.

As an active participant in conquering space, whose second cosmonaut is orbiting the earth during the present session, Bulgaria is especially interested in preserving space for exclusively peaceful activities and cooperation among states.

The problem of stopping nuclear weapons experiments and the correlation of the various tendencies and interests related to this issue is an original barometer of the climate in the area of disarmament. Our position on this issue is well known. We have consistently advocated a total and general ban on these experiments. We greet the position of the USSR and the United States at the Moscow summit, and view it as a part of the gradual approach toward reaching this goal. The achievement of

an agreement between the two countries to eventually minimize these experiments would be reliable proof of their readiness to steadily march forward along the road of disarmament.

The contribution of the present session to quickly concluding a convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons could be especially significant. At the end of 1987 our country appealed to all states participating in the disarmament conference to demonstrate political will and intensify their activity related to technically developing such a document. Despite the existing disagreement, we think that the difficulties can be overcome. As far as Bulgaria is concerned, it recently declared its rejection of chemical weapons in any form, and its readiness to cooperate in quickly preparing the convention on that matter.

The situation in Europe is an important aspect of the global issue of removing the military threat. The issue of reducing armed forces and arms, whose concentration in Europe is the highest in the world, has existed for many years. I mean the armies of millions of soldiers, who are facing each other, and who have at their disposal tens of thousands of modern tanks and military aircraft, nuclear missiles systems, and thousands of nuclear warheads.

We support the quick coordination of a mandate on talks related to reducing armed troops and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. We hope that these talks will be conducted in a businesslike atmosphere, and that they will quickly lead to implementing a substantial reduction. For this purpose the Warsaw Pact member states proposed to exchange in the near future information on armed troops and conventional weapons, and turn this into the basis for beginning real disarmament, by first removing the existing imbalance and asymmetry.

The ambiguity about the intentions of the other side has repeatedly been pointed out as an example of an unfavorable factor. We think that in order to strengthen confidence it is necessary to compare the military doctrines of the two alliances and base them on a clearly defensive attitude.

The approach of the People's Republic of Bulgaria toward European security envisages the development and expansion of the existing measures of building confidence and the qualitative development of new measures. It must be stressed that the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as the other weapons of mass destruction, most ominously affects the psychological and strategic situation in separate regions and in the world as a whole. Our initiatives in the Balkans, including the initiative to turn the region into a nuclear-free zone, has met with a positive international response. The Bulgarian-Romanian proposal to create a zone free of chemical weapons in the Balkans, as a step toward the comprehensive ban on and elimination of these weapons, is well-known.

At the Belgrade meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan States, Bulgaria proposed many new steps aimed at military detente. Indeed, almost all participants in the meeting proposed useful initiatives related to improving the political climate in the region, which was known in the past as the "powderkeg" of Europe.

The problem of limiting military maritime activity has become a pressing issue. Therefore, the socialist countries propose to begin talks with the participation of the great naval states, especially those who possess nuclear weapons, as well as with other interested countries.

If the present session adopts a more specific attitude toward this issue, it would bring to the attention of the world public a dangerous area of military confrontation, which has a destabilizing global influence.

We confirm our conviction that military confrontation could significantly decrease if the foreign military bases would be removed and foreign troops withdrawn from the territory of the countries in which they are presently deployed.

The gradual, complex, and diversified approach toward disarmament also includes the new vision of the issue of verification. We think that in order to achieve agreements in the priority areas of disarmament it is especially important to ensure glasnost and predictability in the military sphere. For this purpose it is necessary to establish a uniform verification system. It must be a comprehensive system and contain reliable guarantees of equal security and unity between words and deeds, and strengthen the moral element in relations between partners.

The present session must devote the appropriate attention to implementing the recommendations of the international conference on issues of mutual relations between disarmament and development. The decisions of the conference undoubtedly represent a good basis for developing a comprehensive common concept on this issue. Now it is necessary to coordinate specific and practical measures in this area. The review of this issue at the highest level by the UN Security Council would be a timely and important step toward solving this exceptionally important issue of world security.

Everything is in the hands of the people, the hands of man. We attribute great importance to the mobilization of world public opinion in favor of disarmament. The evolution toward a qualitatively new state of international relations cannot be implemented only "from the

top." It would be unthinkable without relying on the broadest public forces, with their diversified and picturesque character, and without prompting the human tendency to search for peaceful ways and solutions. The world disarmament campaign, which is a noble UN action, has a great role in this respect. Bulgaria has made a modest contribution to the implementation of this action. It will make further efforts to implement the goals of this action.

Disarmament is at the stage where increased demands are being posed to the existing mechanism of discussing and solving this issue. This especially applies to the disarmament conference. Led by the attempts to increase the efficiency of the Geneva forum, the Warsaw Pact member states adopted a document in the fall of 1987, which in our opinion contains realistic and timely proposals. We are ready to discuss other opinions aimed at the same goal.

The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on all these and other topical and priority aspects of disarmament has been presented in the memorandum of the Warsaw Pact member states entitled "Security Through Disarmament." We hope that this document will contribute to further clarifying the positions, bringing them closer together, and searching for common denominators in the most pressing issues, which move the heart and brain of contemporary man.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The strongest impression of this session, which we will take with us, is the common striving by the states to reach a turning point toward real disarmament. This striving is incorporated in many valuable proposals and ideas voiced by the representatives of countries with different social systems. They create a broad basis of deliberation and practical conclusions. Their common denominator is the supreme universal interest—safeguarding peace and saving mankind.

The present session has the opportunity to enrich the intellectual climate in which the most important issues of peace and disarmament are being solved. It has the possibility to create global political conditions, which could facilitate the detonation of the huge military machine, which has been created throughout the decades. The peoples are expecting that this session will ensure an even more reliable path of conducting dialogue on disarmament, and will give a new and powerful impetus to the talks.

Thank you for your attention!

AWP Paper Comments on SFRY Press Articles
AU0306181988 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 3 Jun 88

["About the Articles of a 'Specialist' for Albanian Questions in Belgrade's Newspaper BORBA"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 3 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT of June 3 carries an article by Javer Malo which says among others:

Beginning with April 26 this year, Belgrade's newspaper BORBA has published twelve articles by Arso Milatovic in the feature entitled: "Do We Know the Albanians?" In his first articles, the author says that "by not knowing on our part the historic development of the Albanian people and forgetting and underestimating the facts in the century-long relations with the Albanians seriously makes difficult our efforts to find the best way to approach the contacts with Albania's representatives." The recognition, especially among neighbours is indispensable and valuable. But A. Milatovic only states these principles, because right after these words which serve as a preface, he fills in his articles with slanders and attacks. In this way, he does not sow understanding, but split and enmity among the peoples.

First of all he seeks through them to deal a destructive blow to Albania's history, to present the Albanians almost as savage and uncultured. It would be a vanity to deal here with history to reply to an author who flagrantly distorts history. But we cannot fail to mention that as far as culture, alphabet, state traditions are concerned, there is no reason that the Albanian people feel themselves inferior as compared with the other Balkan peoples and the less so compared with the Serbians whom he considers as a point of reference and comparison. Those who laid the foundations of the Serbian state and in the first place Karadjordje and Milos, as the Yugoslav authors themselves say, were illiterate. The number of elementary schools until the middle of the 19th century in Serbia was so small that it is not worth mentioning. And if Vuk Karadzic published the first grammar of the Serbian language in 1814, the patriot Naum Veqilharxhi published the first ABC of the Albanian language soon after him.

We do not shift the blame on the Serbian people for this cultural backwardness as Arso Milatovic does with the Albanians. The relative backwardness of the Balkan peoples has to do with historic, social, class factors and the negative role the great powers played at their expense. We would be chauvinists, as the author is, to accuse the Croats and Slovenians of backwardness and lack of culture, and tradition of state as they escaped from the Austro-Hungarian yoke, when the bicephalic empire came out defeated from imperialist World War I, that is later than the Albanians.

The author says that the Albanians accepted the Moslem religion so that to be liberated from "the power of the Slav neighbours." Mussulmanism has not been a phenomenon only for the Albanians. But the question put in this case by the one who knows to some extent Balkan history would be this: "Why did the Bosnians, who are Slavs, accept the Moslem religion, perhaps they too wanted to escape from the Slav power?" But regarding this, he runs counter to what he says, because further on he writes that the Yugoslav ethnographers "have proved that the Albanian highlanders are our compatriots, who have turned into the Catholic faith, whereas the Albanians of Kosovo and Metohija have denied our origin as ancient Serbs and Orthodox." Regarding this we have but to "admire" these Yugoslav "scientists" for this discovery of theirs, but we are expecting to be given explanations why these "Slavs," although they have changed religion, have preserved the Albanian language, traditions, and national character.

As far as the annexation of the Albanian territories is concerned, Arso Milatovic says that they "were won by arms and defined by the big powers." But he does not mention the fact that the appetite of the Serbian and Montenegrin rulers was even greater, because the first wanted Durrës and the latter Shkoder and that the Albanian government of Ismail Qemali, that proclaimed Albania's independence in Vlore found itself in more difficult positions as a result of the Serbian-Montenegrin occupation of half of today's Albania.

In another article the author says that the "Albanians were delayed concerning the anti-fascist movement as they were delayed in the 19th century in respect to the national liberation movement." But the Albanian people were the first in the Balkans that in 1920 fought arms in hand with rare heroism against the armies of Italian imperialism, precursor of Fascism, and pushed them onto the sea, although its northern borders were always threatened by the danger of Serbian and Montenegrin rulers.

Later on the Albanian people launched the revolution of the year 1924 which paved the road to a democratic development of the country, establishing in Tirana one of the most progressive governments not only in the Balkans but also in the Europe of that time. Unfortunately, the scum of reaction outside Albania's border in December that year returned in Tirana, with the direct aid of the Yugoslav state and of that "good" old man that ruled in Yugoslavia at that time, Pasic, who put at Ahmet Zogu's disposal money, arms, Serbian soldiers and Beloguardists [White Guards] expelled from Russia of the revolution, gathered and sheltered in Yugoslavia.

The author does not mention all these acts of the Serbian monarchist leaders which were result of the old claims on the Albanian territories.

Instead of denouncing the Belgrade fascist chieftains and their expansionist policy, he finds out another road, he denounces the Comintern for its correct policy at that time towards the fascist regime of the Serbian bourgeoisie. The Third Communist International, founded by Lenin, played a great role in forming and training of the communist parties, for uniting the peoples in struggle against the bourgeoisie and reaction, for creating people's fronts for peace, democracy and socialism against fascism that was preparing to launch the world onto a new slaughter.

The Comintern gave a great aid to the Yugoslav Communist Party too. But one cannot expect good words for Comintern, from those who have undertaken to praise everything negative of the Serbian society, its ruling, chauvinist, expansionist, and fascist class.

The author of writings in BORBA not only does not explain, but he does not either mention the fact that the "delayed Albanians in the anti-fascist movement," as he says, "educated in the spirit of revenge against Serbs," "the most backward in the Balkans," created one of the most powerful national liberation movements in Europe and fought side by side the Yugoslav peoples till the complete victory over fascism, to the territories of Yugoslavia, for the country's freedom and the establishment of a new world so as the past be never repeated.

Arso Milatovic speaks of many other things confounding and viewing them with the eyes of a short-sighted chauvinist, but he does not mention at all the common struggle of our two peoples against fascism, either the massacres perpetrated by Mihajlovic gangs in Kosovo against anyone whom they called communist, be him Albanian, Serbian, or Montenegrin. Instead, he speaks right and wrong and for everything only to have a chance to insult and curse the Albanians and together with them the Comintern. He hatefully and contemptuously looks upon the war events, where the Albanians, Serbians, and Montenegrins fell side by side one another on the same trenches. "Communists in Fascist uniform, whose aim was to form Great Albania," this is how he describes the internationalist Communists who went from Albania to Kosovo following the capitulation of old Yugoslavia. The CP of Yugoslavia, as Arso Milatovic puts in somewhere in a low voice, has asked these Communists to go to Kosovo, a demand to which our new party responded immediately and in a lofty internationalist spirit, not to form Great Albania, but to make their contribution to the struggle against fascism and the freedom of the peoples.

This "specialist" of the Albanian questions passes from Kosovo to Albania only to vest our people in the most insulting features and characteristics. If he says these for the Albanians, who in centuries have been famous for their pride, honesty, loyalty, and the word given, it shows not only the cynicism but also blindness that chauvinism has led the author to. Paraphrasing the old saying of a left wing French personality, who declared that France

has "the most idiot right wing in the world," we would unhesitatingly say, that Yugoslavia has in its fold the most idiot chauvinists in the world." [close quotation marks as received]

The author dwells also on other things we have heard of for years on the part of the Yugoslav propaganda, as, for instance, of that the Albanian women give birth to many children, thus becoming a danger to Yugoslavia, he speaks of the Albanian piedmont, he speaks and shows fear of the Albanian propaganda and especially of the works by Comrade Enver Hoxha, he declares full of "authority" that "Albania did not take part in the Helsinki Conference because 'it wanted to occupy Kosovo'," and many other things of the kind.

On August 4, 1956, at a meeting with the special envoy and plenipotentiary minister of the SFR of Yugoslavia, who upon the order of the Yugoslav leaders had come to make clear the disapproval they made of the considerations of our party regarding the Albanian-Yugoslav relations in 1946-1948, Comrade Enver said: "You say that you will be objective in the report to your leadership over what we talked, this is of importance, because the representatives of a state have a direct influence on the development of the relations between the two countries, but it must be said that the staff of the Yugoslav Legation does not act in this spirit, but in a hostile way towards our country and party."

Being rather tactful, as Comrade Enver Hoxha was characterized of, he gave the Yugoslav representative to understand that he, himself, was responsible for this hostile activity. The representative of Yugoslavia at that time was but Arso Milatovic. Even from the writings in BORBA one may guess how and to what a negative way this "diplomat" has influenced in the development of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations.

What impresses us most is that the newspaper BORBA has published the writings of such a co-worker at a time when the ink of the signatures on the document of Belgrade's conference has not yet gone out. The constructive spirit so that the conference concluded with the best results in the interest of good neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans was manifested by all the foreign ministers in that conference. The Albanian delegation too gave its contribution in this direction. It drew the attention of the Yugoslav and foreign press for the seriousness and constructive spirit it put forward the problems. Perhaps do Milatovic's attacks against Albania and the Albanians in the newspaper BORBA serve this spirit, or the contrary is aimed at?

Peruvian Envoy Presents Credentials to Alia
AU1006140788 Tirana ATA in English
0735 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia,

received on June 9 the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Peru to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Jose Urrutia, who presented the credentials.

Attending the ceremony of presenting the credentials were the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andon Berxholi, and the head of the Protocol Branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kostaq Cifliku.

Alia Greets Portuguese Leader on National Day

*AU1006140888 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 10 Jun 88*

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greetings to the President of the Republic of Portugal, Mario Soares:

"On the occasion of the National Day of your country, I have the pleasure that, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and in my own name, to send to you the warm greetings and at the same time to formulate the best wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the friendly Portuguese people."

Carcani Receives Departing Turkish Envoy

*AU1306183888 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 88*

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Bilal Simsir, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on the occasion of the latter's departure from our country, and had a friendly talk with him.

The meeting was also attended by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Sokrat Plaka.

Wish To Establish Relations With EEC Announced
AU1306194088 Sofia BTA in English
1912 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Brussels, May 13 (BTA corr.)—Bulgaria wishes to establish official relations with the European Economic Community, a verbal note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria to the Commission of the EEC, which was presented today, points out.

"In conformity with the mutual interest in the further development of the relations between Bulgaria and the European Economic Community, expressed in the course of the bilateral negotiations, the Bulgarian Government wishes to establish official relations with the EEC," the note says.

Filipov, Delegation Return From FRG
AU1306115788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 June 88 p 6

[Text] The delegation of the National Assembly Commission on Socioeconomic Development, headed by Grisha Filipov, chairman of the commission, returned from the FRG. The delegation visited the FRG at the invitation of the Bundestag Economic Commission.

Ecological Cooperation Agreement With Sweden
AU0106163388 Sofia BTA in English
1528 GMT 1 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—Joint work in controlling the sulphur dioxide emissions from coal-burning power plants is envisaged in the general agreement signed here today between the Bulgarian Power Engineering Association and the Swedish Flakt Industry AB Company. The document creates conditions for long-term trade and industrial cooperation and joint work in third countries. The agreement envisages the establishment of joint ventures, joint research and development, engineering and design. The sides have agreed on the delivery of equipment, on the exchange of technical documentation, on personnel training, on technological assistance etc.

Recently the Power Engineering Association adopted an ecological program for the period up to the year 2000 which is the first of its kind in this country. It makes a special point of sulphur emissions control. The solving of this problem is linked with this country's initiatives on ecological balance in the Balkans and Europe and with the commitments assumed by Bulgaria under the protocol on the reduction of sulphur emissions and of their transboundary flow, signed in Helsinki in 1985.

Dunayev Views Joint Space Mission With Soviets
AU0306110388 Sofia BTA in English
1006 GMT 3 June 88

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—The forthcoming Bulgaro-Soviet space flight will be leading among the short-term manned missions both in technical and scientific terms,

thanks to its research programme which is tightly packed with experiments. The project will use the last word in electronics and will include experiments which we only planned to carry out in a year's to a year and a half's time, says Mr Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Soviet Space Agency Glavkosmos, in an interview for RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The Bulgarian scientists have come up with some very interesting and promising ideas which, once realized during the flight, will be further developed in projects to come. A considerable amount of the Bulgarian-designed systems will stay on board the Mir space station and will be used by other missions, as the long-term use of the equipment developed for this flight has been on our original plans. This is Bulgaria's contribution to the progress of manned space exploration, Mr Dunayev says.

Asked about the functioning of Glavkosmos, its chief executive explains that the agency is now switching over to self-management and self-financing, and therefore every flight should entirely or partially recoup the costs of its organisation. It is only natural to expect that the partner country should supply state-of-the-art equipment. What we seek is to ensure that the commercial uses of space should be to the mutual benefit of all partners, Mr Dunayev says.

He believes that a manned mission to Mars will be feasible at the beginning of the next century, and that until then unmanned probes will be used. The realisation of the project depends on international cooperation. As Mr Dunayev put it, Soviet-American relations are now moving away from Mars the god of war and are approaching Mars the planet.

GDR Foreign Ministry Delegation Holds Talks
AU1306130288 Sofia BTA in English
1034 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 13 (BTA)—Consultations were held between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the GDR on a wide range of questions of their relations with the African states to the south of Sahara, as well as on general political and economic questions of Africa.

The guests were received by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Stoichkov Receives GDR Health Minister
AU1206140288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgaria 8 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] On 7 June Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Prof Ludwig Mecklinger, minister of health of the GDR.

They discussed the development of cooperation between the two countries in the fields of health care and medical science.

The meeting was attended by Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health and social welfare, and by Academician Atanas Maleev, chairman of the Medical Academy.

During his visit Prof Ludwig Mecklinger had meetings with the leaderships of the Ministry of National Health and Social Security and the Medical Academy and visited health establishments and scientific institutes. Discussions were held on the possibilities of further expanding bilateral cooperation.

International Radio, TV Council Ends Session

AU0706171188 Sofia BTA in English
1644 GMT 7 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—The Administrative Council of the International Radio and Television Organisation (OIRT) completed its 63rd session here. Taking part were chief executives of thirteen broadcasting authorities.

They discussed OIRT's role and activity in the international exchange of news and programmes, a new draft edition of the organisation's statute, and associate membership applications from Yugoslavia, the FRG and Spain. The participants also considered the development and application of high technologies in broadcasting. A calendar plan for next year was approved.

The meeting adopted a resolution fixing the areas and tasks of international cooperation.

Relations With Iran Evaluated Positively

AU1306121388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 Jun 88 p 4

[Editorial Article: "Mutual Relations Are Expanding"]

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, concluded his official, friendly visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. During his 3-day visit he conducted useful talks with Mir Hoseyn Musavi, his Iranian colleague, met with 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, chairman of the Majlis (the Iranian parliament), and was received by Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Republic.

These were mutually advantageous and fruitful talks and meetings. They were devoted to the search for opportunities of further developing Bulgarian-Iranian relations in various areas, as well as to topical international problems. Primarily, the great importance of the political dialogue on various aspects of mutual relations was pointed out.

We must stress that the present Tehran talks were the first to be conducted at the level of government leaders since the Islamic revolution in Iran which took place in 1979. Naturally, our mutual cooperation will also be raised to a new level. This was also specified in the documents signed. In the first place, we should mention

the Protocol on Political, Economic, and Cultural Cooperation, which maps out the basic trends of this cooperation for the period up to the year 2000. This document reflects the readiness of Bulgaria and Iran to encourage and develop cooperation in agriculture, as well as land improvement, transportation, trade, and industrial production sharing in certain promising spheres, such as the heavy machine building industry, electronic industry, chemical industry, and food industry.

During the talks it was ascertained that there are untapped opportunities for expanding mutually advantageous relations. The Joint Bulgarian-Iranian Commission For Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation plays an important role in this respect.

In the foreign policy sector, during the talks particular attention was paid to the most important regional problems. It was pointed out that, to alleviate tension, there is a need to settle these in a just manner. Naturally, opinions were exchanged on the Iran-Iraq war as well. Bulgaria, as is known, insists that this war should be halted and peace negotiations should start promptly. As to the Persian Gulf, the two government leaders expressed their profound concern about the security of navigation and the intensification of tension in that area. In this connection they insist that the United States and NATO should withdraw their naval forces and that the security of the Gulf should be guaranteed by the states situated on its shores.

The two sides also discussed the situation in the Middle East, denouncing the Israeli aggressor and expressing support for the uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. They categorically opposed the use of chemical weapons as a violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

Both the Bulgarian and Iranian sides expressed their satisfaction at the visit paid by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the Islamic Republic of Iran. They share the common view that this visit will contribute to the further development of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between our two countries.

Zhivkov Sends Condolences to Castro on Floods

AU1306115488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 May 88 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, sent a telegram of condolence to Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on the occasion of the great floods which caused the loss of numerous human lives and considerable material damage. The telegram expresses most sincere condolences and profound sympathy to the families and relatives of the dead and injured.

CEMA-EEC Cooperation as 'Foundation Stone'
AU1306123088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Jun 88 p 7

[Ladislav Alster article in the "We Comment" column:
"Cooperation Is the Foundation Stone"]

[Text] CEMA and the EEC are the two largest and most dynamic international economic organizations. Let us add that they are neighbors, and that the 12 EEC member states and 7 of the 10 CEMA countries are located on one continent, in Europe. It certainly was not healthy—be it from the political or economic viewpoint—that cooperation between the two communities was minimal, in most cases practically zero, or that the occasional CEMA efforts to establish cooperation were grudgingly rebuffed by Brussels. Only in 1985 did a certain improvement take place.

"Intensive integration processes are underway in both parts of Europe. It is time to ponder what to do next. Will they continue working on dividing Europe, or will it be possible to make use of them for the benefit of both the Eastern as well as the Western part, in the interest, by the way, of the rest of the world?" This is the fundamental question posed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his book "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the World."

This question has now been positively answered for the first time. After long negotiations over the past 3 years, plenipotentiary representatives of the two sides initialled the Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Official Relations Between the Two Economic Organizations in Moscow on Thursday [9 June]. The initialling confirmed the text of the declaration—worked out by experts of the two sides over many long deliberations—as definitive with the proviso that the declaration will be solemnly signed by leading representatives of the two communities in Luxembourg on 25 June.

The declaration has great political significance as the first step toward establishing systematic economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two integration groupings, as the foundation stone for the construction of a "common European home." CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev has stated that the main purpose of the declaration is to assert—by means of European cooperation—the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

Yes, this is the first step, this is only the beginning of the normalization of relations between the two communities. There are plenty of opportunities and untapped potential. After all, the two integrations account for almost half of all world production, but their mutual goods exchange constitutes only 5 percent of world trade. What is involved here are states whose geographical position alone plays into their hands and helps them to develop economic cooperation.

The joint CEMA-EEC declaration envisages international economic and scientific-technical cooperation in many spheres of common interest. Each one of the CEMA member countries has the possibility to conclude trade and other agreements with the EEC on its basis. There are good prospects for large joint projects in power engineering, transportation, and environmental protection. The declaration also opens new scope for scientific-technical cooperation.

The important thing now will be whether the two sides will demonstrate enough goodwill so that their cooperation would fully develop in the spirit of the declaration, that the process of the construction of the "common European home" would continue so that Europe becomes a continent of peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems. If that happens—and the CEMA countries will do all they can for it—then the initialling and signing of the Joint Declaration can be described as a historical event.

Austria Joining EEC Poses 'Serious Problem'
AU1306120088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
8 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Jozef Janto, Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent in Vienna: "Austria's Economic Problems and Squinting at the EEC; Will Charity Amount to Millions?"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Austria, or, to express it better, some of its politicians and economists, hope to improve the country's economic situation by joining the West European Economic Community [EEC]. It is, in particular, the representatives of the Austrian People's Party, which—together with the Socialists—constitutes the so-called big government coalition, who are striving for this. Even a permanent EEC representation was established in Vienna last year. But in the Headquarters of the Community in Brussels they do not view the efforts of Austrian conservatives with great enthusiasm. In the 12-member EEC they are rather busy with themselves or, more specifically with the newest members—Greece, Spain, and Portugal. In addition, further potential members are knocking on the door in Brussels: Beginning with poor Turkey all the way to the richer Norway.

But there is something else that poses a serious problem when it comes to Austria joining the EEC: This problem is Austria's neutrality, which the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, France, and, also, of Austria, guaranteed when they signed the State Treaty in the spring of 1955. That signing took place in the Belvedere Palace: A band played Strauss waltzes then, and people were rejoicing and dancing. And Austria should lose its neutrality now? Although Alois Mock, chairman of the People's Party, vice chancellor, and minister of foreign affairs in one person, asserts that his country "leaves itself open in the

future to the possibility of striving for full EEC membership while maintaining everlasting neutrality," this is the same as being on and not being on a cart, the same as holding and not holding a hare in one's hand.... All 12 EEC member countries—with one exception—are members of NATO. However, the exception—that is, Ireland—is not located in central Europe, on the line of contact, so to speak, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. But speaking of exceptions, let us mention Sweden. There, too, certain circles had been striving for EEC membership (the ultraright circles even for NATO membership). But the Swedish minister of foreign trade said clearly and intelligibly in this regard: "Our possible EEC membership is not compatible with Sweden's neutrality." Should this be different in the case of Austria?

After all, the prospects for an improvement of the economic situation after Austria's joining the EEC would not be too rosy.

The ability of Austrian companies to compete would worsen, unemployment—which is in the EEC at least twice as high as in Austria—would increase, and industry would become subjugated to foreign monopolies.... Impassioned disputes, in particular, were conducted among trade unionists as well as among the population regarding unemployment, which in the individual EEC countries, is between 10 to 20 percent of the population of productive age: The decisive majority is leaning toward rejecting the membership. [passage omitted]

Quite a few Austrian economists are saying that at present the country lives "10 percent above its means." Therefore, it will be necessary to tighten belts. However, should Austria join the EEC (and thus de jure violate its own neutrality), the tightening of belts would be even greater. True, this would not apply to all, but certainly to those tens of thousands of people who would lose their jobs....

USSR's Antonov Arrives for Economic Talks
LD1306125288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] A Soviet delegation led by Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Prague from Moscow today to attend the 28th session of the inter-governmental Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

Received by Jakes
LD1306214388 Prague CTK in English
1918 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today Soviet Deputy Premier Alexey Antonov who heads a Soviet delegation at the 28th session of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

The two officials discussed Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations and stressed that further possibilities existed for expanding these relations.

Milos Jakes emphasized Czechoslovakia's interest in a thorough elaboration of a concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation for the next 15 to 20 years.

Milos Jakes and Alexey Antonov also paid attention to the coordination of national economic plans of the two countries for the period till 1995 and to the application of new forms of economic cooperation.

Visiting Soviet Deputy Premier Alexey Antonov heads a Soviet delegation to the 28th session of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, which started later in the day.

The Czechoslovak delegation is led by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek.

The participants are to discuss the state of preparations for coordinating the economic plans of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia for the period 1991-1995, work on a concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries for the next 15 to 20 years, as well as the raising of the quality of exchanged machinery and equipment.

The commission deals also with new forms of cooperation between enterprises, and with the fulfilment of inter-governmental agreements on Czechoslovak participation in the construction of industrial projects on Soviet territory.

Beno Receives MPRP Workers Delegation
AU1006151388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Jun 88 p 2

["z"-signed report: "Meeting Guests From Mongolia"]

[Text] Prague—A delegation of party workers of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], headed by Sengeegiyn Lubsandag, deputy head of a department of the MPRP Central Committee [position as published], arrived for a study visit to Prague on Tuesday [7 June — FBIS] at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The delegation was received by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Mikulas Beno in the afternoon. In a comradely chat he briefed the guests on the work of the CPCZ after the 17th CPCZ Congress and the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions. The importance of a broadly-based cooperation between the CPCZ and the MPRP following the recent visit by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to Mongolia was underscored.

The reception was attended by Vladimir Patek, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, and by Lubsan-dambyn Battengel, counsellor of the Embassy of the Mongolian People's Republic to the CSSR.

Charter 77 Members Charge Bilak With 'Treason'
AU1306161088 Vienna KURIER in German
12 Jun 88 p 3

[Text] Although the CSSR authorities resort to increasingly tough measures regarding members of the opposition, these people do not get discouraged. According to exclusive information available to KURIER, two members of the Charter 77 civil rights movement have brought an action against Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak for "high treason" because of his role in August 1968 during the CSSR invasion by the Warsaw Pact troops.

The two courageous civil rights fighters are Rudolf Bereza and Tomas Hradilek from Moravia. Their information to the chief state prosecutor refers to Vasil Bilak's memoirs, part of which have not yet been published. In the third chapter, Bilak writes, among other things: "The troops that came in the night from 20 to 21 August were too few to control the situation." The two men deduce from this that Vasil Bilak—as is known in the West anyway—was one of those high-ranking Communist Party functionaries who asked "the socialist countries" for military aid against the Dubcek regime. This is the reason for the charge of "high treason."

This step by the two civil rights fighters is so courageous because under the new party leader Milos Jakes, too, tough action against every kind of opposition continues and is even aggravated.

Charter 77 claims to know of an internal party decree in which Communist Party members are requested to keep an eye on all those citizens who "develop independent initiatives." In the internal party directive it is stated that they "are to get a taste of the full severity of the law" if they do not give up their activities.

Some cases of recent practice show that such a secret internal instruction must exist:

—Stanislav Devaty and Jan Urban, signatories to the Charter 77, are harassed every day. During interrogations, Devaty was notified that he—as a member of the unofficial Society for CSSR-U.S. Friendship—is regarded as a "potential spy." For days Urban has been told by anonymous callers that "his time has run out."

—For 6 months, 52-year old Ivan Polansky has been remanded for illegally propagating religious literature, although he is in danger of suffering a heart attack. He is in for up to 10 years' imprisonment.

—In the middle of the night, the Catholic priest Jan Duriga from Stod near Plzen had a brawl with two policemen in plain clothes who had entered his house by force. During the interrogation he was accused of resisting state authority.

—Since 1985, the physician Bohumil Rudolecky from Brno has been waiting for trial because he duplicated George Orwell's book "1984" by means of a typewriter and carbon paper. He is in for 5 years' imprisonment.

—In connection with the peaceful demonstration of Catholics in Bratislava on 25 March, a third participant, Karol Nagy, has been charged with "disturbing public order." The possible punishment: imprisonment of up to 3 months.

Trial of Civil Rights Activist Polansky Starts
AU1306170288 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Jun 88 p 1

["E.L." report: "Trial of Slovak Civil Rights Activist Polansky Starts"]

[Text] The Hague, 10 June—According to reports from the International Society for Human Rights (IGFM), the trial of Slovak civil rights activist Ivan Polansky for "subversive activities" according to Article 98 of the CSSR Penal Code will start at the Banská Bystrica District Court next Monday [13 June]. As the IGFM, which has its seat in Frankfurt, announced on Friday [10 June] with reference to reports from Prague, after two dissidents died, the members of the CSSR civil rights movement are very concerned about Polansky because he is seriously ill. According to these reports, Polansky, who has been in detention pending trial for half a year, suffered a heart attack "recently." If he is found guilty, he faces up to 10 years in prison. At the end of April, Pavel Wonka, a political prisoner, died in the prison of Hradec Kralove; in May former political prisoner Jaromir Savrda died of heart failure, after he had reportedly been massively harassed by the state security service. According to the IGFM, a number of books were seized when his apartment was searched last November. After Polansky had first been accused of "propagating fascist ideas," the charge was later changed to "subversive activities."

Cadres Should Be Responsible, Trustworthy
AU1306180588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Jun 88 p 1

[Editorial: "The Best of the Very Best"]

[Excerpts] "Cadre Policy is the key to the successful restructuring and democratization of the society." This was stated in the report of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, in the passage dealing with the significance, training, and rearing of cadres.

Cadre issues—i.e. issues dealing with people who are, or should be, heading the work collectives, performing various functions, and directing and guiding others—continue to be a matter of great interest to our citizens. Cadre issues, too, are no longer considered taboo and are becoming a matter of public concern and, as such, they can naturally be discussed. Naturally, the crystallization of views cannot prove everybody right every time; and not everybody's views are qualified or suggestions justified in every single instance.

However, as a rule everybody agrees on one thing, namely, that only the best of the very best should stand at the head of things, only people who are the best in every respect—ideological-political, professional, and moral. They should have every prerequisite for thinking conceptually, for assuming responsibility, taking bold risks and engaging in socialist entrepreneurship, finding practical ways out of situations, and cementing their collectives so as to reach the set goal. They should be people with authority, people whom we trust unhesitatingly. [passage omitted]

It is known that in December 1987 the CPCZ Central Committee session adopted a significant resolution on improving the cadre policy; it contains clear-cut stands on the course to be taken by party agencies and organizations, formulates new and higher demands to be placed on cadres, and places extraordinary emphasis on the consolidation of the collective spirit and democratic principles in cadre work.

Does this mean that the party's leading role is weakened? Not in the least. Even under the new conditions of secret ballots and competition for jobs, the party is not relinquishing its influence on the selection and placement of cadres. However, it may not issue orders—it must use its political influence and democratic means to make sure that full support is given to those who not only want to implement the policy of the party, the National Front, and the socialist state, but who are also capable of doing this. Let us repeat: full support for the best of the very best.

The Central Committee spoke unambiguously and critically (and, in fact, not for the first time) about functionaries behaving immodestly and superciliously, about officials surrounding themselves with flatterers and believing that they are irreplaceable, and thus provided with immunity. The decisive criterion applied by them in judging colleagues is the latter's attitude toward their own person. They cultivate cronyism and react with irritation to any voice raised in criticism. People with such traits (who also often tend to be careerists) cannot hold responsible functions. Do we have such people in our society? We do. And the working people justly point this out. However, it would be a mistake (and also most unjust toward other honest leading staff and officials) to lump them all together. [passage omitted]

It is also worth pondering why certain people are willing to accept a function only if they are appointed, refusing to undergo the election process. They probably realize that it creates a new situation which forces a person to render account to the collective face to face, which forces him to show considerable independence and responsibility. Not everybody is capable of doing this; this is particularly true at present, when the old management methods (which are gradually petering out) are still strong, when the old stereotype buck-passing processes still continue to operate, when many party agencies and organizations are, in actual fact, substituting for economic management (after all, they are receiving considerable encouragement from inefficient planning and management, shortcomings in supplier-consumer relations, and so forth). Many people have become accustomed to having their every decision (even one fully within their jurisdiction) "blessed" from above, if possible complete with the stamp of the party agency or organization. They strive to have their professional problems solved in the district or regional party secretariat, often even in a CPCZ Central Committee department. Frequently this is pure alibi-seeking, a tendency to cover one's back. But restructuring wants to put an end to alibi-seeking. It simply has to put an end to it.

Every person will learn to think and act anew, to work competently under the new conditions. Experience teaches us that in all periods of building socialism we have had sufficient capable cadres devoted to socialism. They must be sought out, reared, and trained, and also provided with the opportunity to prove their qualities.

Socialist Leaders on Restructuring
LD1306211588 Prague CTK in English
1449 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 13 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party fully supports the goals of the restructuring of the economy and social life, pursued by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Socialist Party Chairman Dr Bohuslav Kucera told newsmen today.

Bohuslav Kucera, who is also deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, said the Socialist Party respects the leading role of the Communist Party in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and confirmed this by February 1987. "Restructuring increases the role of the National Front, associating beside political parties also social and interest organizations. For us it means to raise the share of socialist party members, totalling roughly 15,000, in policy-making, its control and implementation to the benefit of a speedy economic and social development of the country", Bohuslav Kucera said.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party marks this year the 40th anniversary of its foundation. After the February 1948 victory of the Czechoslovak working people its

associated the progressive forces of the former National-Socialist Party, founded in 1897. The party has over 500 primary organizations in the Czech Socialist Republic. It is one of the four non-communist political parties - the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Slovak Reconstruction Party and the Slovak Freedom Party.

For the sake of activating the Socialist Party in the restructuring process, its Central Committee decided that annual meetings of primary organizations should be held in October and November this year. According to Bohuslav Kucera, about one-third of chairmen of primary organizations are to be replaced. In January and February next year district party conferences will take place and regional party conferences will be held in April. The activities of the party are to be reflected above all in the work of its members in the national committees in villages, towns, districts and regions in which the party has 800 deputies.

New Bishop in Trnava Archdiocese
LD1206193888 Prague CTK in English
1648 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Trnava June 12 (CTK)—Jan Sokol was consecrated as bishop, apostolic administrator of the Trnava Archdiocese in West Slovakia today, following an agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and the Vatican on his appointment.

The consecration was attended by a delegation of the Vatican led by Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, special papal nuncio, and other prominent guests of foreign and Czechoslovak churches. Present at the ceremony was Slovak Minister of Culture Miroslav Valek.

The consecration was performed by Archbishop Colasuonno who was assisted by Bishops Jozef Feranec of Banska Bystrica and Jan Pasztor of Nitra. Clergymen and believers from Slovak dioceses came in large numbers to pay their respects to Bishop Jan Sokol.

Politician Denied Entry To Attend Celebration

AU1306124688 Bonn DIE WELT
in German 11-12 Jun 88 p 4

[Werner Kahl report: "'Undesirable' Social Democrats"]

[Text] Bonn—Over the past few days, the East Berlin authorities have denied entry to various SPD members at different times. Horst Becker, managing director of the Kurt Schuhmacher Society in Bonn, was rejected as "undesired in the GDR" at the Berlin-Friedrichstrasse Railroad Station city border checkpoint. This became known at the SPD Federal Executive Council in the Erich Ollenhauer House on Friday [10 June], from reports from the persons affected.

After having been kept waiting for about 20 minutes, several officers escorted Becker to the Western platform of the Friedrichstrasse Railroad Station. The 64-year-old functionary, a former member of the SPD Federal Executive Council under Kurt Schumacher, Erich Ollenhauer, and Willy Brandt, has been land management director of the Social Democratic Education Societies under Johannes Rau in North Rhine-Westphalia since 1965. In January 1948—1 and 3/4 years before the founding of the GDR—Becker left the Soviet occupation zone. Last Monday [6 June] he wanted to participate, along with 40 SPD members, in a reception at the Permanent Mission in East Berlin after the celebrations on the 125th anniversary of the SPD in the Reichstag building. Former classmates had invited him to come to the East to celebrate the anniversary of their "Golden Confirmation."

Becker was, however, rejected at the barriers in the Friedrichstrasse Railroad Station without being given any reasons. Before he was told that he is "undesirable," the border control officers had leafed through the wanted persons file and had made several telephone calls. When refusing permission to enter the country, are the GDR authorities using lists of denounced people from the Soviet occupation zone that were drawn up during the first postwar years before the founding of the GDR, in which dedicated opponents of the forced unification of KPD and SPD into the SED were noted? In East Berlin political circles, it was said that, apart from official SED-SPD meetings, the SED currently wants to curb as far as possible the private meetings between Social Democrats, who come from the territory of today's GDR, and GDR citizens.

Horst Becker, who after the war also worked for the SPD Eastern Bureau, told DIE WELT that he has "not been over there for 40 years." After the joint SPD-SED document had been published in East Berlin and Bonn last year, he did not expect to be refused entry to the GDR. The Hamburg Social Democrat Gerhard Hasse, who was sentenced to 5 years in prison on charges of "forming groups" as a lecturer in mathematics at Leipzig University in 1956, was also rejected as "undesirable."

Stoph Sends Letter to Sweden's Carlsson

LD1306201688 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1526 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jun (ADN)—In a letter to Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, stated that the GDR, like the participants in the six state initiative, places great importance on the effective verification of disarmament measures.

The GDR supports the idea in principle of creating an integrated, multilateral verification system within the UN framework. It should be part of a consolidated system that is required to guarantee peace and security during the disarmament process and in a nuclear weapons-free world.

This proposal by the participants in the six state initiative should be the subject of serious discussion at the third UN special session on disarmament, according to the letter.

As Willi Stoph stressed, the GDR shares the opinion of the participants in the six state initiative that the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence requires greater energy and resolution. The International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones taking place in June in Berlin will provide an opportunity to discuss ways toward a nuclear weapons-free and peaceful world.

In a letter to the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Ingvar Carlsson gave a briefing on the intentions of the participants in the six state initiative to put forward their proposal on an integrated, multilateral verification system, at the third UN special session on disarmament.

Stoph Greets SFRY's Mikulic on Birthday

AU1306101188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 10 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has extended warm greetings and congratulations to Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY, on his 60th birthday.

Krenz Receives PRC Procuratorate Delegation

AU1006140488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 10 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a delegation of Chinese public prosecutors headed by Wang Xiaoguang, deputy procurator general of the PRC Supreme People's Procuratorate, on Wednesday [8 June].

Egon Krenz and Wang Xiaoguang underlined their satisfaction with the large-scale development of cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples. This is the expression of the new period of friendly relations that developed after the visits of Erich Honecker to the PRC in 1986 and of Zhao Ziyang to the GDR in 1987. It is committed to the interests of socialism and peace.

On the basis of the decisions of the 11th party congress, Egon Krenz explained the GDR's experiences of how the socialist state power stands the test as the main instrument of the working people who are led by the workers class in shaping the developed socialist society. The main direction of its development is to further unfold and perfect socialist democracy. From the beginning onward, the SED has regarded the guaranteeing of legal security as a firm component of its policy. Socialist law is the expression of the power of the workers class and serves the interests of all working people, the protection of socialist order, as well as the freedom and human dignity of the citizens.

Wang Xiaoguang discussed how the PRC Supreme People's Procurate contributes to implementing the focal points decided by the 13th CPC Congress. He affirmed that the exchange of experiences between the GDR and the PRC on the requirements in shaping the new society serves to strengthen socialism in the two countries and its international influence.

GDR General Prosecuting Attorney Guenter Wendland and Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the State and Legal Matters Department of the SED Central Committee, participated in the talk. Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador to the GDR, was also present.

PRC Military Delegation Ends Visit
*LD1306212588 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1549 GMT 13 Jun 88*

[Text] Dresden, 13 Jun (ADN)—The delegation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) Monday ended its several-day stay in the GDR with a visit to Dresden. The delegation visited at the invitation of Army General Heinz Kessler, national defense minister and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. The delegation was led by Zhou Keyu, member of the Communist Party of China Central Committee and deputy director of the PLA General Political Department. The delegation was received by the Dresden Bezirk SED Executive. Hans Modrow, the first secretary, briefed the guests about the Bezirk and its industrial, agricultural, and scientific development. Zhou Keyu said he was deeply impressed by the working people's achievements in the construction of socialism. He assessed the diverse meetings as a contribution to the deepening of friendship between the peoples of the GDR and the PRC.

Pakistan's Ziaul Haq Receives GDR Envoy
*LD1306125188 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0831 GMT 13 Jun 88*

[Text] Islamabad, 13 Jun (ADN)—Pakistani President Mohammad Ziaul Haq considers the calling of the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in Berlin a constructive contribution to liberating the world from nuclear weapons. In talks with GDR Ambassador Hans-Joachim Rehmer, the president stated that efforts for disarmament must be increased, particularly in the nuclear area.

Ziaul Haq, who received the ambassador for a farewell visit, paid tribute to the level of relations achieved and spoke in favor of extending cooperation between the GDR and Pakistan. He thanked the ambassador for his work in Pakistan and asked him to convey cordial greetings to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Arab Summit Demand Backed, PLO Hailed
*AU1306142988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11-12 Jun 88 p 10*

["The GDR Supports the Just Struggle of the Palestinians"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The GDR has received with satisfaction the call for joint action in the interest of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East, launched by the Arab summit in Algiers, stated the spokesman of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, in East Berlin on Friday, 10 June. The GDR fully agrees with the demand for the urgent convening of an international Middle East peace conference made by the participants in the summit. The fresh opportunities for a just political settlement of regional conflicts, which stem from the current process of improving the international situation, must be capitalized on.

The spokesman also said that the GDR hails the support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under PLO leadership, shown by the Arab heads of states in Algiers. The GDR reaffirms its solidarity with the Palestinian mass resistance in the occupied areas and stresses its determination to continue to consistently support the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under PLO leadership.

The spokesman emphasized that to establish a lasting and just peace in the Middle East requires, in the opinion of the GDR, the joint readiness of all sides involved in the conflict to respect the legitimate rights of the others. The Arab states and the PLO once again stressed their readiness to participate constructively in a collective search for a just settlement of the Middle East conflict. What is at stake now is that goodwill must also be shown by those who up to now have hampered such a settlement by denying the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to create their own state, and who rejected the equal participation of the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in the process of seeking a Middle East solution.

The GDR sympathizes with the Israeli people's desire to live in peace and within secure borders. Its withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, a halt to Israel's aggressive policy toward its Arab neighbors, which is at variance with international law, and a stop to the brutal oppression of the Palestinian population in the occupied areas would undoubtedly help achieve this desire.

Nuclear-Free Corridor With FRG Advocated
AU1306141388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 10 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by Professor Dr Heinz Kamnitzer, president of the GDR-PEN Center: "Two States—One Responsibility"]

[Text] European culture and European security are indivisible. Both require primarily nuclear disarmament. In this connection, on our continent the emphasis lies between the Rhine and the Oder. The essence of it is a nuclear-free corridor right and left of the River Elbe.

True, delivering a part of a territory from the work of the devil is not the same as delivering the whole world—but it is still better than nothing. Besides, the German states are united by their special interest in contributing to further nuclear disarmament on their soil.

Thus, the political neighborliness between the FRG and the GDR would improve immediately, and more leeway would be created for the fruitful area of cultural exchanges in art and science.

SED CC Congratulates CDU's Goetting
AU1006140188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 9 Jun 88 pp 1, 2

[Message from the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, on his 65th birthday: "Cordial Congratulations to Gerald Goetting"]

[Text] Dear friend Gerald Goetting:

In friendly affinity, I convey to you the most cordial greetings and congratulations of the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council on your 65th birthday.

In you we honor a politician and statesman whose work has been linked from the very start with the successful establishment and development of the GDR, our socialist fatherland. You belong to those German patriots who helped with word and deed to lay the foundations for a new social system on German soil. Your consistent work and your personal example have encouraged citizens of Christian belief to give their best for socialism and for the safeguarding of peace.

Motivated by your own experiences in life and by the humanist ideals of Christian ethics, you have put your life in the service of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU]. As your party's general secretary since the founding days of the GDR, and as CDU chairman since 1966, you have gained lasting merits in consolidating the alliance with the workers class and its party, and in steadily deepening the political-moral unity of our people. When today the CDU, as a political force acting in and for socialism, is making important alliance contributions to the well-being of the GDR citizens, it is you, esteemed friend Gerald Goetting, who has had a decisive part in this progress of your party toward a new awareness of itself.

Varied, creative achievements for our worker-peasant power are linked with your work as deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and as longstanding president and deputy president of the People's Chamber. As president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples, in the Presidium of the National Council of the GDR National Front, the GDR Peace Council, and the German-Soviet Friendship Society, and in other leading bodies of social organizations, you are tirelessly working for the international attractiveness of the GDR.

The deepening of the unshakable friendship with the Soviet Union and the consolidation of relations with all socialist states and with progressive forces and movements in the world has always been a special concern to you.

Your life and your work are an example of how Christians are putting into practice their imperative principles of peace and altruism in the socialist society.

On your day of honor we thank you, dear friend Gerald Goetting, for your work for the welfare of the GDR and wish you good health and creative energy for the future.

With socialist greetings,

E. Honecker

The Council of Ministers and the People's Chamber also congratulated Gerald Goetting on his birthday.

[In a subsequent 50-word ADN article, the paper reports that Erich Honecker awarded Gerald Goetting the Karl-Marx-Order at the proposal of the Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.]

Horn, State Department's Whitehead Interviewed

Economic Relations Discussed

LD1406025388 Budapest MTI in English
1819 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 13 (MTI)—The Hungarian television screened an interview with John C. Whitehead, first assistant-secretary of state of the United States, and Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. John C. Whitehead paid a visit to Hungary last week.

On economic relations Whitehead said that there are several Hungarian-U.S. joint ventures in operation and the American side would welcome further investment opportunities in Hungary. In this context Gyula Horn expounded that the U.S. companies have no sufficient knowledge about their opportunities in Hungary. (...) The territories where the American capital can be involved are being studied along with the establishment of the proper channels. On the planned visit of Karoly Grosz to Washington and with regard to the greetings cabled by President Reagan on the occasion of his election as general secretary of the HSWP, the U.S. assistant-secretary of state among others said:

'I do not think that the greetings of the President cabled to Mr Grosz can be regarded as unusual or suprising. Relations between Hungary and the United States have been close and friendly for long. Mr Grosz is a new leader and we wish well for him and the principles he has proclaimed and manifests. We congratulated for his election and hope that close cooperation with him will continue, and our relations with Hungary will continuously develop.

The Washington visit of Mr Grosz constitutes a part of these improved relations. We will thoroughly prepare his stay, for he is to spend more than a week in the United States, visit both the east and the west coast, several cities and meet many kinds of people. In Washington we will provide opportunity for him to meet all senior political personalities.

On this issue Gyula Horn expounded that Karoly Grosz received the invitation as prime minister, and it was confirmed after his election as general secretary. The telegram of greetings from President Reagan was really unusual, but at the same time it reflected the respect and interest that the administration and the most senior leaders of the United States show towards Hungary. At our talks we discussed the programme of the visit. We consider it important that the U.S. Administration get a knowledge about our ideas and reform endeavours.

The agenda is surely to include issues of strengthening economic relations. It is also important that our general secretary have a picture, a comprehensive impression about the life in the United States. This why the programme includes opportunities for establishing direct relations.

Rights, Disarmament Considered

LD1406053188 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1805 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Interview with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead and Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, by Andras Sugar; date and place not given—recorded; Whitehead speaks in English with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Sugar] With regard to human rights, how does the U.S. Administration evaluate the present human rights situation in Hungary?

[Whitehead] It is our opinion that in all of Eastern Europe, the situation is the best here. However, there are certain specific aspects of freedom which have been possible for our people in their 200 years of freedom that are still not covered. All things considered, however, we do not have any grave objection to human rights as exercised in Hungary.

[Horn] It is definitely a good thing that they not only recognized that human rights are in order in Hungary and that their practice is guaranteed, but that it also has been established that certain dissonant phenomena, which they objected to earlier, have ceased or been reduced to a minimum. So, from this point of view, there is confidence, and an evaluation that takes our internal situation and development into account.

[Sugar] With regard to human rights, the Hungarian public is greatly disturbed by Mr Ceausecsu's plan to wipe hundreds of villages in Romania off the face of the earth: Romanian, German, and Hungarian villages, equally. Do you think this is exclusively an internal affair of the Romanian Socialist Republic, or does this perhaps have some kind of wider bearing as well?

[Whitehead] We believe that all human rights problems are the affair of the whole world. They cannot be restricted solely to one given country. We think that these practices, wherever they occur, are to be condemned, and we will use our influence in every way we can to convince these governments that they should change such practices. In this case, we gladly stand beside Hungary, and will do everything to stop them.

[Sugar] Viewers will obviously now ask what you mean when you say you will do everything.

[Whitehead] We will use our influence in world organizations, we will publicly expose the practice in the country concerned, in the hope that all nations will come together to urge change. These are the possible steps that we can take. [passage omitted]

[Sugar] Did you talk with Mr Whitehead here about the so-called new thinking pervading the line of foreign policy direction in the Soviet Union and Hungary? I mean that in the area of defense, it is not absolute defense, but sufficient defense for which we must strive, and that we must start out by taking into account the viewpoints and wishes of the other side when preparing our proposals, and so on?

[Horn] Well, we dealt with these questions in connection with the summit, in a direct and indirect way. Among other things, and this affects us greatly—directly, too—it was mentioned that while it is good that the great majority of countries and political circles have a positive opinion on the way the summit went and on its results, at the same time there also are serious reservations, at least serious reservations could be read: Among others, for example, that this summit did not deal substantively with European questions, and within that, the subject of European disarmament. This affects us more directly, too.

I cannot really understand these so-called gripes, partly because the most important thing was that they were able to make progress on the question of the START agreement; and on regional crises, meaning that apart from bilateral relations, the possibility of settling regional crises was discussed. In practice, there is no concept for settling—or order for settling under the conditions of Soviet-U.S. relations or, in a wider sphere, the Middle East—this concept does not exist; it must be formed. In Europe, however, there is constant contact; there are forums where we deal with these questions. The other thing is that at the same time, we naturally must not undervalue the tasks connected with conventional weapons, all the more so because, in our estimation, it is very important for us to make progress in Vienna and elsewhere. I would like to add to this also that we agree completely that progress cannot be made in the area of reducing nuclear weapons alongside the maintenance of the level of conventional armaments. Finally, I would add that in my view, the results to date in Soviet-U.S. relations could not have come about without the standpoints of the two sides having met in security policy conceptions.

[Whitehead] [passage omitted]

[Sugar] Karoly Grosz has been invited, as general secretary and premier, to visit the United States at the end of July. Would you say something about the visit, which is of great interest to our viewers?

[Whitehead] [passage omitted]

[Horn] Karoly Grosz received the invitation in his capacity as premier, and when he was elected general secretary, the invitation was confirmed. The greetings telegram from President Reagan was not something customary; it was unusual, but this also expressed the respect and interest which the leadership, the highest leading circles of the United States, entertain for our homeland.

We also consider it very important for the U.S. leadership to get to know our ideas and reform endeavors directly. The question of strengthening economic relations definitely will be put on the agenda. Third, the whole program also is very important from the point of view that our general secretary and premier should have a picture, an overall impression of the United States and of life in various areas of the United States. It is for this reason that there are at several points organized visits in the program, which earmark direct relations.

[Sugar] Let me put my final question to you, Mr Whitehead. If we are talking about predictability, is there any difference between the two presidential candidates, Bush and Dukakis, in how they handle the Hungarian portfolio?

[Whitehead] No, I think that on this question every American is united and that there are no differences of opinion between the parties. With regard to international questions, there occasionally are differences between the U.S. parties, but naturally so far as our friendship and our wish to improve our relations with Hungary and establish closer relations between our peoples are concerned, I think that both the U.S. parties support this idea completely.

[Horn] I could not vote from here in Budapest, nor do I want to; this is an internal U.S. affair pertaining to the U.S. people, but I consider it extremely encouraging that on the basis of what has gone on up to now, judging from programs and weighing up and evaluating statements, it seems that this process, this favorable process, in U.S. foreign policy in its relation to detente, will continue.

[Sugar] Thank you.

Commerce Department's William Verity Visits
LD1306123488 Budapest MTI in English
1057 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 13 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met William Verity, U.S. secretary of commerce, in the parliament on Monday.

In the course of the day Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and secretary of the Central Committee, also met the American politician.

The cordial talks were attended by Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade. Present at both meetings was Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States to Hungary.

Departs 14 May

LD1406085788 Budapest MTI in English
0840 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—William Verity, U.S. secretary of trade, who visited Hungary on the invitation of Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, left Budapest on Tuesday. He was seen off by Jozsef Marjai at Ferihegy Airport. Present was Mark Palmer, ambassador of the USA to Hungary.

GDR Politburo's Sindermann Arrives 13 Jun

LD1306211788 Budapest MTI in English
1726 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 13 (MTI)—On Monday Horst Sindermann, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the People's Chamber arrived in Hungary at the invitation of Istvan Sarlos, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly for an official and friendly visit.

Sports Pilot Lands Accidentally in Romania

AU0906110788 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 7 Jun 88 p 7

[Text] Due to a navigational error, Ferenc Steinbinder, a pilot from the Nyiregyhaza Sports Pilot Club of the National Defense Association, flew his Pirat HA-4388 glider into the airspace of the SR of Romania on 4 June at about 1750, and landed in the Nagyszalonta area, some 12 km from the border. The competent organs have taken the necessary measures for the return of the pilot and the plane.

Glider, Pilot Returned

AU0906110888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 8 Jun 88 p 4

[Text] Following the customary legal procedures, on the night of 6 June, Romanian authorities returned to Hungarian authorities a glider plane and its pilot, who accidentally landed on the territory of the SR of Romania on 4 June.

Grosz Sends Condolences on Railroad Accident

AU0906135588 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 7 Jun 88 p 7

[Text] Premier Karoly Grosz sent a telegram of condolences to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in connection with the railroad accident that took place in Arzamas.

Grosz Addresses Workers Guard Conference

LD1206190888 Budapest MTI in English
1746 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 12 (MTI)—The 4th national conference of the commanders of the workers' militia, which ended in Budapest on Sunday, was also addressed by Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Discussing home policy issues, Karoly Grosz appreciated the open, sincere and heated debate of the HSWP national conference, and recalled that the conference and the leadership of the party had not denied the past, it had constructed the future and given a programme. He emphasized "in the wake of the highly important conference it has become more obvious who are with us, who are willing to help us, and who are still wavering and hesitating. And it can be seen more closely who are against us. This is what we wanted. We sought to find a clear orientation on this political map. A situation has emerged in which everyone can decide what we wanted. A situation has emerged in which everyone can decide what he accepts and what he denies from this programme. Now the party members have a growing self-confidence and can rightly keep their head higher. Although some people are still mediating and hesitating and they are a little bit confused, the majority of party members are thinking in a responsible way and feel that they were given support. The dialogue between the leadership and the members is more valuable, more intensive and more creative than previously, which lends impetus to the party movement. I hope that all this will be manifest in deeds."

Concerning the more open activity of the enemy and the opposition, Karoly Grosz said: "We cannot see it idly that they are organizing themselves, rallying their forces, working out and implementing political conceptions. Should the occasion arise, the leadership, in awareness of its responsibility, will resort to administrative measures. But it can decide safely only if it feels a 'hinterland', mass support, and first of all the support of the communist community behind itself. With due tolerance, we must create unity in the movement and in public life against the enemy and the opposition."

Karoly Grosz called attention to the fact that nationalism masked by the exaggerated profession of being true Hungarians had emerged in the general public. "There is confusion in the scale of values... Today the interests of the country is represented by those who take a stand against nationalism, who stand on the platform of real patriotism and not by those who lay excessive emphasis on being Hungarians."

Examining the economic situation of the country, Karoly Grosz emphasized "a major change of rhythm is required, and new methods and new means should be elaborated. The crucial condition of implementing the

social and economic processes lies in creative and value-generating work. At the same time the incentives and constraints should be transformed, they can operate efficiently only together and only simultaneously. The finances available for education should be regrouped since the requirements of the next century cannot be met at the current level of qualification. Another attitude is required at school and new sets of requirements should be established at the workplaces. New approaches and attitudes are required in applied research and technical development. It must be declared that a single standard can be accepted here, the standard of performance."

Karoly Grosz expressed his conviction that the country had overcome the difficulties. "In this—like so many times before—the progressive forces played a path-breaking role," he said.

Former Press Spokesman Interviewed on Reform
AU0306140288 Rome ANSA in English
1238 GMT 3 Jun 88

[Text] (ANSA) Milan, June 3—The Hungarian Communist Party is firmly committed to carry out political change and this determination is not only the result of public opinion pressure but also the conviction which has matured within the communist leadership, according to Imre Vasahelyi, in an interview published in today's edition of the Milan daily *IL GIORNALE*, who was the Budapest government's press spokesman at the time of the 1956 popular uprising.

Vasahelyi went on to affirm that the recent Hungarian communist party congress was of particular importance because "no one limited themselves, as usually is the

case, to suggesting changes to the present (political) model, but some went so far as to affirm that a new model needed to be adopted given that the old one no longer worked".

Vasahelyi was a major figure in the government of Imre Nagy until Soviet tanks invaded the Hungarian capital to crush the popular revolt. Both Vasahelyi and Nagy were among those arrested and deported to Romania. Vasahelyi was imprisoned for four years, while Nagy was hanged in 1958.

Asked why Hungary, after its economic successes in the 1970's had become one of the world's most indebted nations, Vasahelyi replied that the causes were many. In his domestic policy, Vasahelyi affirmed, Hungarian leader Janos Kadar had to back-track when he saw that "economic reforms were beginning to have political consequences, that he would have to allow the birth, if not of parties, of associations".

Among the external causes for Hungary's economic crisis, Vasahelyi cited the influence of the Soviet Union, under Leonid Brezhnev, and other socialist nations "which looked at the Hungarian experiment with great scepticism".

Vasahelyi then commented on relations between Kadar and the Kremlin's present leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. "There's never been good blood between them" he said, "and Kadar has repeatedly been sceptical to Gorbachev's initiatives, believing that Gorbachev was going too fast (in his reform policies) and often warned him to slow down unless he wished to suffer the same fate as (Nikita) Khrushchev".

Officials Attend Opening of PZPR CC Plenum

LD1306133288 Warsaw PAP in English
0915 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—Party's tasks in the further deepening of economic and political reforms and promotion of cadres are the topic of the 7th PUWP CC Plenum which started here on Monday.

While opening the debate, First Secretary of the PUWP CC Wojciech Jaruzelski greeted the guests, among them Roman Malinowski and Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, members of the Presidium of the PUWP Deputies' Caucuses, representatives of the government and social organizations.

The Central Committee accepted the proposals concerning the agenda of its two-day plenary meeting.

A report on "party tasks in the further deepening of economic and political reforms and promotion of cadres" was presented by Wojciech Jaruzelski who stressed the special character of this session.

Jaruzelski Delivers Politburo Report

LD1306224188 Warsaw PAP in English
205 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—The two-day 7th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) opened here today.

When opening the session, PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said, in parts:

"The 7th plenary session focusses upon the tasks of the party in further enhancement of economic and political reforms and in personnel promotion. We have spent a lot of time and effort preparing this plenum, deriving not only from relevant analytical and study material but also from new experience resulting from the difficult start of the second stage of economic reform.

"And thus, we have resolved to encompass with its topics also the major political, economic and social problems of our country. In proportion with the challenges of times, in proportion with public desires, concerns and needs. They are discussed in the report of the Political Bureau. [no end quotation marks as received] "The seventh plenum," said the PUWP CC First Secretary, "was preceded by various preparatory actions which included three informative and consultative meetings, a probe carried among Central Committee members and first secretaries of PUWP voivodship committees on personnel policy, Poland-wide poll research among first secretaries of PUWP basic-level organizations, factory level committees as well as of commune-, town- and district-level organizations into the same

issue, and seminars of intervoivodship party schools. A considerable contribution into preparation of the plenum was also made by task commissions of the Central Committee."

"You have received, comrades," Wojciech Jaruzelski added, "over twenty analytical and informative documents. Thus, there is plenty material to use during the debates."

Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered then the report of the political bureau entitled "the tasks of the party in further enhancement of economic and political reforms and in personnel promotion."

Next, a discussion started.

The plenary session will be resumed tomorrow at 10 a.m.

Plenum Notes Labor, Emigration Problems

LD1406013488 Warsaw PAP in English
2217 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—Following are some, selected fragments of the statements made during the plenary discussion at the PUWP CC Plenum. Prof. Zdzislaw Cackowski, CC member, president of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin:

There is a need to put to detail the responsibility of the party in the structure of the state. One of the possible directions is programmatic multivariantism as well as the personnel multi-variant character of the party's operations.

The party should offer various programs to the stage, to choose from and to put into effect. Various conceptual-implementation teams, socially visible teams, would be engaged in such a programmatic variant. The ineffectiveness of the program would entail the political loss of a given team. Society would, therefore, see concrete political responsibility and in the party itself we would also have premises of alertness and criticism with regard to the program adopted by the majority—in the form of groups opting for another program.

We will not be able to and should not side-step this problem if we are to maintain and consolidate the ties of the party with society without which it will not be able to fulfil its leading role in the state.

Marian Truszowski, CC Member, foreman at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk:

The instigators of the May strike in the shipyard wanted very much for May 1988 to be similar to the August from 8 years back. They considered the fall of the strike to be a painful defeat but can the party, the management of the shipyard and the plant active feel as conquerers. In social development we have presumably reached a place in which struggle against the political foes using hitherto

methods will be impossible. The party has been faced with a great task of persuading and convincing people to our programs. Of course, the programs and persuasion must be supported by practical action which should always be honest.

Does cadre policy only have to stand for the party's recommendation to posts through sharper criteria, will the custom of replacing poorly-operating people with worse ones continue to be in force. The cadre policy cannot be an instrument of a mechanical selection of people. It should open the way for brave and honest individuals. In practice, criteria of reliability and effectiveness should be in force. One should also examine the candidate as regards the degree to which he maintained disinterestedness, and whether he can care about others. This is necessary on all levels of the administrative ladder.

Eugeniusz Mroz, CC Member, first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Opole:

When we rightfully speak today about the great wave of emigration as blood letting from our national organism, then this is also an immense blood letting from our state organism, an outflow of young but already shaped and educated cadres of economic and social life. We approximately know the amount of these losses—the number of engineers, physicians, economists, and research-teaching staff. We tell ourselves of the moral and political losses. We say not without justification that this is economic emigration, fueled by the market difficulties in our country, the living situation of many Poles which is void of clear prospects. This also goes to prove the aspirations of those who decide to emigrate, their energy which gives them the braveness to make such decisions. We are losing these aspirations and braveness. Cadres, their development and maturation are also (if not first and foremost) opening a chance of a real, stable and clear chance for the young generation. One which comes true in a planned period of time and in a planned way.

Ewa Beblot, CC member, teacher at state orphanage in Sawczyce, southern Poland:

I think that everyone cares about the condition of the young generation. The moods of the youth are such that its vast majority pins all its hopes and plans on trips, be it even short-term, but ones abroad. One can scorn this, one can even brand this as cosmopolitanism but there is not a more important task for the party other than a conviction backed by concrete material that the young generation should have its life opportunity here and now.

The issue does lie in the sphere of opportunities because one could list many of them but in the sphere of motivation. In order to arouse them, the party must show prospects, show the meaning of spending one's energy, light up the small light in the tunnel.

I do not favour bringing up young people in a greenhouse. For the time being the transmitter, that is the authorities, and the receiver, that is young people, operate on different frequencies. And until we do not reach a resonance or at least synchronization, we will not have young cadres on high as well as lower levels, we will not reach a sufficient socialization of young people.

Jerzy Janicki, CC member, deputy technical director of the "Ursus" mechanical works:

The old, diehard leaders of "Solidarnosc" have tired of the game and they represent a small number of people in Poland.

The May protests were directed by a new group of young people. This is a new generation which knows the matters of August, 1980 from stories and observations. I think that this new, young generation should take the spotlight of our attention. Every young person, every young generation of the nation must have a clear prospect for itself and their own country. And if not a prospect than at least a hope that in the foreseeable future it will gain such a real prospect.

Lack of hope is, especially for the young person, the end of everything. Many young Poles seek this lost hope among foreigners abroad. This problem of nationwide importance should become one of the central reference points of the party's and its leadership's critical and self-critical assessment. No one and nothing will take the responsibility for this outflow of Polish energy, for the emigration of Polish youth, from our shoulders.

Edward Sawicki, CC member, a grinder, chairman of the trade union at the "Pzl-Mielec" transportation equipment works in Mielec:

The mistakes made in the past have been made up for in most cases. The policy being pursued is, generally speaking, correct. The point is, therefore, for further steps not be formed in the comfort of cabinets, in groups of influential and "insider" people but for them to be broadly and publically consulted. Following detailed agreements, the party should have the final impact on personnel decisions in order to not to water down responsibility in a situation when many people decide. In this respect we should preserve the privilege of having the final say.

Jerzy Romanik CC member, miner at "Siemianowice" coal mine in Katowice Voivodship:

We all want an improvement and it would seem that we know what and how should be done. Yet, after a certain time, in most cases, these same people meet to state that much still remains to be done. And practically we return to the starting point. Do we not devote too much time to discussions, to a multiplication of novelties, to search for "wonderful" solutions and too little to everyday, concrete and honest work. There are no other sources of

increasing prosperity other than work and credits. We cannot afford credits. One must, therefore, focus attention and thinking on how to multiply the common achievements through joint work.

At the same time one must more energetically combat negative phenomena, deviations, cases of departure from the set rules of the game. The ever more frequent breaking of wage discipline in the sphere of production, through various ways, stirs particular concern. One should also not lose sight of control over the situation in the market.

Marek Jozefiak, chairman of the main board of the Union of Polish Students:

In Poland, where a significant part of the young generation is still seeking basic values, the party must expand the basis for dialogue and look in a new way at the matters of young people. The party, its program, style of work must be attractive for young people. The young expects that the party, as a vanguard force, will become a promoter of its chances for success, that it is precisely the party program that will show that the success of the collective can be born of individual success.

Trade Union Leader Examines Economic Reform
PM1306144088 Paris L'HUMANITE in French
25 May 88 p 11

[Claude Marchand report: "Return to Reality"]

[Text] In view of the difficulties and obstacles encountered in Poland by the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform, the Sejm has decided to give the government special powers until the end of the year to speed up the restructuring process. This law, envisaged well before the recent strikes, should, it is thought in Warsaw, create favorable conditions for eliminating the situations and phenomena which are hampering the reform. In particular, the government will have the right to fire enterprise managers who drag their feet and, to some extent, this conflicts with the intention expressed on many occasions to decentralize decision-making and increase enterprise autonomy.

This decision to give Zbigniew Messner's government a free hand is also seen as a criticism of the government's action; this action is deemed to be chaotic and inconsistent, notably by the OPZZ, whose influence has increased considerably. On the strength of its impact and the Polish trade unions' new-found credibility, the OPZZ has been able to secure the abandonment of the measures envisaged by the government.

"Since the OPZZ was formed," Stanislaw Nowakowski, the head of its secretariat explained, "we have repeatedly said that no government can implement reform unless it has broad support from society. Without that support, any reform will be no more than a series of legal actions, good or bad, but unconnected with everyday life. That is

why we disagree with the government on the implementation of the reform. The trade unions—our organization groups more than 20,000 of the 25,000 legally authorized grass-roots organizations which have 7 million members—are one of the biggest reforming forces. We are in favor of the reform and its general objectives but, at the same time, we say that the fight against the crisis and the implementation of some solutions cannot be carried out solely at the workers' expense. Nobody can accept a program of hardship and austerity without any prospect of personal gain."

At its last executive committee meeting, the OPZZ, drawing conclusions from the latest events, condemned the fact that the reform is being confused in people's minds with the drop in living standards. "Indeed," Nowakowski continued, "the government thinks that wage increases are making it necessary to increase prices, but we think that the reverse is true. Too little emphasis is being placed on certain psychological barriers which are making it difficult to implement the reform. For instance, some economic officials sometimes say that these barriers are caused by lack of social consciousness, and that people do not understand the reform. This is difficult for a Marxist to accept because he has been taught that consciousness is the result of people's living conditions and not the reverse. So, if we want to change the consciousness which is making it difficult to implement the reform, we cannot increase prices, fuel the inflation spiral, and say that the restructuring process is long and difficult and that it is necessary to make sacrifices. I think it is better to achieve these results in measurable stages. We are opposed to the chaotic method of implementing the reforms."

The government is not overdramatizing the situation because it thinks that the attempts by a section of the extremist opposition to politically exploit the workers' discontent have failed. It also points out and welcomes the fact that the church hierarchy has adopted a patriotic and responsible line, although the tone of some of its statements—especially after the police action at the Nowa Huta steel works—was different. "The dominant tone," according to Jerzy Majka, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, "was one of concern for Poland and its future, and concern with overcoming existing problems and continuing the reforms. This confirmed," he said, "the progress made in the process of national accord, and the achievements of socialist pluralism in solving difficult problems democratically."

The fact remains that some officials in the party itself are awaiting the result of the forthcoming local elections in June with some anxiety. They are a new stage in the democratization process, with the implementation of an electoral law which provides a marked contrast with old habits, so much so that some people are talking of an election which is free from manipulation. The candidates, who exceed the number of seats available, will be classed in alphabetical order this time, irrespective of whether or not they are members of a political party, and

the voter will have to delete the names of those he does not want to be elected. In the past, the election was virtually decided when the list of candidates was drawn up. "This will make it possible to assess the population's consciousness," people are saying.

PRON Executive Meets 9 June
LD0906221188 Warsaw PAP in English
1320 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON executive met here today to discuss broadly conceived regional self-government as a foundation of Poland's model of political system.

It was emphasized that Poland needs such a model of society's overall self-government as will make it possible to utilize the initiatives of regional communities, local authorities, enterprises, professional milieus, and public organizations.

Poznan Trade Fair Opens; Leaders Attend
LD1206143988 Warsaw PAP in English
1304 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Poznan, June 12—The 60th Poznan International Fair (MTP) opened at 10 a.m. today here. Currently the biggest Polish foreign trade event, the fair was first held in 1921 and has since then become a calling card of Polish economy's exports potential.

In 130 thousand square meters 4,200 exhibitors, including 2,600 exhibitors from 41 countries of the world, display latest technical and technological achievements.

The Polish exhibition reflects the growing exports potential of Polish producers encouraged by the mechanisms of reformed economy.

The fair opening ceremony was attended by Zbigniew Messner who is the honorary sponsor of this year's fair. Present also were members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and the government as well as members of official foreign delegations and diplomatic corps.

Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda said at the opening ceremony of the 60th MTP that proexport actions in Poland already brought first results.

Poland has been boosting consistently its trade turnovers with other countries. Their growth has been especially strong this year, Gwiazda said, adding that positive changes in the structure of exports, with the share of processed commodities growing, has been recorded.

Gwiazda stressed that the progress achieved was not satisfactory and that Poland's place in the international division of labour did not reflect the existing potential

and demands. Further significant improvement in this field we link to the consistent implementation of the second stage of economic reform, Gwiazda said.

GDR Trade Minister Meets Messner
LD1206150788 East Berlin Voice of the GDR
Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil today visited the 60th Poznan International Fair. During a meeting with Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner, he introduced GDR industrial products which are important in current trade between the two countries.

With his Polish counterpart Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Minister Beil discussed trade to 1989. The GDR collective exhibition is shared by 22 foreign trade enterprises and the Central Office for International License trade. [passage omitted]

Messner Meets Soviet Official
LD1206151188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner has received Soviet Deputy Premier Igor Belousov, chairman of the Soviet delegation visiting Poznan, on the occasion of the trade fairs. During talks, the problems of economic cooperation and trade exchange of both countries were raised. Earlier, the Soviet deputy premier talked to Wladyslaw Gwiazda, the minister for foreign economic cooperation.

Messner, Gwiazda Discuss Fair
LD1306053688 Warsaw PAP in English
1907 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Poznan, June 12—The 60th Poznan International Fair opened here today. The fair is Poland's biggest foreign trade exposition event, which this year attracted over 4,200.

The opening ceremony was attended by representatives of the authorities headed by Premier Zbigniew Messner, who is also the 60th fair's honorary sponsor.

Present also were PUWP CC secretary and Political Bureau member Marian Wozniak and PUWP CC secretary and Political alternate member Zbigniew Michalek, as well as government members with Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

Official foreign government delegations from the following countries arrived for the opening ceremony: Soviet Union—headed by vice-chairman of the USSR's Council of Ministers Igor Belousov, German Democratic Republic—headed by Minister of Foreign Trade Gerhard Beil, Democratic People's Republic of Korea—headed by Minister of Foreign Trade Choe Chong-kun, Iraq—headed by minister of Housing and Construction Tahir Muhammad Hassun al-Marzuq. Delegations from

People's China, Cuba, Nicaragua, Great Britain, United States, France and Finland as well members of diplomatic corps were also present.

The opening ceremony was attended by president of the Paris-based Union of International Fairs (UIF) Carlo G. Bert. The Poznan International Fair was one of the UIF founder members.

Minister Gwiazda on Foreign Trade [subhead]

While opening the fair, Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda stressed that development of economic cooperation and trade with foreign countries was a key element of the strategy provided for in the economic reform.

"Exports-oriented measures," said the minister, "have already yielded first positive results. We are systematically increasing our turnover with foreign countries. This year's increase in turnover is particularly large. Also, favourable changes are occurring in the structure of our exports as the share of processed goods is growing."

"Poland's position in international division of labour matches neither existing potential nor needs. We associate a further significant improvement in this domain with consistent implementation of the programme of the second stage of economic reforms," said Minister Gwiazda.

"Economic cooperation with fraternal socialist countries is developing favourably. Together with the Soviet Union, we have initiated novel forms of direct co-production between enterprises. Along with states-members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), we have undertaken to restructure the mechanism of socialist integration. We have noted an improvement in economic and trade relations with other countries.

"The recently attained progress in East-West political relations establishes an advantageous situation. It gives grounds for hope that universality of principles of international commerce leads to equal treatment of all its participants. Shortage of such terms limits developmental capacity of our economy and lowers, in proportion to its potential, its participation in international division of labour. Nonetheless, we are opening our economy wider and wider to cooperation with the world and we establish favourable conditions and safeguards for its development," declared the minister for foreign economic relations in conclusion.

Polish Exposition [subhead]

Poland displays at the fair electronic industry products sold as general utility goods, that is television sets, radios and loudspeakers. As for the latter, high quality in Polish electronics products has been achieved lately, a proof of which is the co-production contract between the

"Tonsil" works of Wrzesnia with the Japanese "Sanyo" company, who incorporate Polish loudspeaker boxes into their stereos to sell them next on West European markets. The Polish display included also microcomputers, as well as gauges.

Many examples of industrial co-production with other countries surfaced at the Poznan International Fair. Among them, the AN-28 airplane co-produced with the Soviet Union. The Polish fair offer includes about 80 new machines and equipment for mining and mining automation and electronics. The Polish offer of machines tools features many novelties. An interesting offer was presented not only by big Polish foreign trade companies but also industrial works and small businesses which acquired licences to conduct foreign trade. Among them are Polish handicraft business owners as well as Polish and foreign companies operating in Poland.

The biggest exhibitors from socialist countries are: the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. From Western states: the FRG, Austria, Italy, Britain, and France. These are countries which also rank top in Poland's foreign trade volume.

Premier Messner About Fair. [subhead]

Replying to questions put by PAP, Premier Zbigniew Messner stated that despite various troubles and many shortages in the economy, the reform was posting good results with every year which was reflected in the Polish pavilions at the Poznan fair.

Asked whether significantly greater exports would put the Polish economy back on its feet, the premier replied:

"This is logical. Exports permit an improvement of the balance of payments which is very tense owing to Poland's foreign debt. Greater imports are possible thanks to greater exports."

Asked how he assessed the role of the Poznan International Fair against the backdrop of the second stage of economic reform, Messner said:

"The point is chiefly to increase the independence of enterprises which creates a possibility for them to maintain direct contacts with foreign partners. The 'Elpol' partnership, so criticized by some 'dogmatics' of the reform, is the best example of this. This partnership was created by independent enterprises exactly to lift Polish electronics to a higher level. That is why at the fair I am

especially interested in this field, including the achievements of the soviet Union. Socialist countries should more broadly co-produce in electronics."

At the American pavilion, the premier took notice of the arrival of big industrial and trade companies to the fair, something which, in his opinion, was lacking a year ago. "There are chances of developing bilateral cooperation with the United States though this does not depend solely on us," Messner said.

Orzechowski Returns to Warsaw

*LD1106162288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0800 GMT 11 Jun 88*

[Text] In Warsaw, Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski has returned to Poland from New York. He had taken part in the third special UN session, which was devoted to disarmament. He presented a message from Wojciech Jaruzelski, which contained the basic of a developed version of his plan for arms' reduction and an increase in trust in central Europe.

Human Rights Group Reports on Jansa Case
LD1406030288 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 2000 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] The Committee for Protection of Human Rights this evening issued its 15th report, expressing the committee's opinion that Slovene politicians know more about the Jansa case than they are prepared to tell the public. The committee is drawn to such an opinion by a NEW YORK TIMES article citing Jozse Smole, to the effect that a secret military document was involved in the case of Jansa.

The committee also has announced that it asked to be received by General Visnjic, commander of the Ljubljana Military District. The committee was informed in this connection that the Ljubljana Military district command knows nothing more than the public does about this case, and that the headquarters of the Yugoslav People's Army command do not communicate with informal groups.

The committee considers that in this case the public is being disparaged, and demands a serious and responsible reply by 16 June. Given that isolated incidents directed against members of the Yugoslav People's Army are occurring, the committee once again calls for a civilized and democratic solution to the whole case.

Smole Most Popular Politician in Slovenia
AU1306160888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Jun 88 p 3

[V. Zagorac: "Smole Most Popular"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Jun—Burdened by the troubles of the crisis, the "average Slovene" has become significantly more critical of his situation. Although he is still not fighting against the problems of poverty, he is notably hostile toward all forms of egalitarianism, he is against various restrictions on social activities, and is noticeably oriented toward faster modernization in all spheres, ranging from political pluralism—which is manifested in his attitudes toward the LC—to the pluralism of ownership.

This picture of the "average Slovene" was revealed by the latest "Slovene public opinion poll" conducted among 2,082 Slovenes in April and May of this year, and was presented at a press conference in Ljubljana.

"It is evident that the greatest increase in national awareness in the last 20 years, which is how long we have been conducting public opinion polls in Slovenia on a regular basis, has been recorded this year. This awareness is expressed by critical but mature attitudes toward intranational relations. One could say that this is the end of the ideally solved intranational relations. This is in fact demonstrated by the awareness that the "Kosovo problem" is a Yugoslav problem. The feeling of solidarity is still very strongly expressed, but this solidarity is

expressed for something else." This was explained by Dr Peter Klinar, one of the people in charge of project SJM 88 [Slovene Public Opinion 88].

As regards specific subjects, when asked about "economic matters"—which was followed by an emotional reaction and primarily the expression of dissatisfaction with the current method of solving the economic and social crisis—57.8 percent of all people interviewed said that new opportunities would be created in Slovenia if it was outside Yugoslavia. However, when asked whether a discussion on Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia should be held, only 28.8 percent thought that this issue should be discussed, while 71.2 percent thought that this was nonsense or were undecided about it.

A similarly formulated question last year caused numerous arbitrary and mainly erroneous interpretations according to which the majority of Slovenes wanted to secede from Yugoslavia. This is, of course, completely wrong and incorrect, Dr Klinar explained.

The "public poll" showed that 59 percent of the Slovenes never read any SFRY Constitution, that 75 percent of them are not familiar with proposed amendments, and that 76.5 percent did not know about constitutional changes. Out of all those questioned, 72 percent did not "believe" the FEC.

On the "popular Slovenes" chart, the first three places go to Jozse Smole, Janez Stanovnik, and Milan Kucan.

Among world figures, these are Gorbachev, Reagan, and De Cuellar.

Text of LCY Conference Theses
LD1106083388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0019 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—The theses from the LCY Conference dealing with the strengthening of the LC's ideopolitical role, unity, and responsibility in the struggle to pull out of the socioeconomic crisis have been published in Belgrade.

The following is the full text of the theses:

The LCY Conference accepts and supports demands by the membership and LC organizations that, in line with its program and the theses of the 13th LCY Congress, the LCY should determinedly initiate and lead the process of its own renewal, constantly readjust its leading ideopolitical role to the needs and development of socialist self-management-based democracy and the need to ensure the direct involvement of the working class and all of society's creative forces in efforts to overcome the socioeconomic crisis and for the more successful development of production forces. In order to overcome the crisis more rapidly and ensure further development on stable foundations, the LCY Conference stresses that

deeper reforms in both the economic and political systems should be embarked upon without further delay so as to make socialist self-management more efficient in both the economic and social sectors, to promote the market economy, to enhance the autonomy for economic entities, to bring new regulations and fresh features into the role of the state in economic life, to eliminate unnecessary administration, to democratize social life, and to enable the state to function more efficiently.

The goals and ideas inscribed in the LCY program 30 years ago continue to be the guidelines for the LCY's struggle to create social relations in which the working class will be able to constantly reiterate its readiness and capacity to remove the obstacles to its own affirmation as the champion of development of the production forces in accordance with the country's natural resources and its working people's creative potentials.

The LCY Central Committee and the LC leaderships in the republics and provinces must, as soon as possible, assess the degree of their accountability for the slow pace at which the tasks set by the 13th LCY Congress are being fulfilled and take steps to ensure resolute action to overcome the existing crisis situation.

It is a historic imperative that the LC should be separated from the state, should have its roots in the working class, and should act not from the positions of authority, but within the broadest front of socialist forces. It is therefore our task to enhance the role of the SAWP as an instrument of democratic communication between the LC and all progressive forces in society. To this end, Communists must take a more determined part in the work of the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations, in institutions of the political system in which—in equal and democratic cooperation with the working people and citizens—they will find the principal support for their struggle for new, more progressive solutions.

1. In order to implement the strategic goals of our society's development as outlined by the LCY program and the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress, speed up the pace of emerging from the complex social and economic crisis, increase the efficiency of the system of socialist self-management as the sole way of ensuring greater material prosperity and human freedoms, we need to consolidate the production relations of socialist self-management, enhance the independence and heighten the accountability of economic entities, promote the market and economic laws, and carry out deep economic reforms.

The LCY must fight for the development of economic conditions in which economic entities will be able to make their business and development decisions independently, to determine market prices with constantly increasing competition, and to suppress the creation of monopolies on the country's unified economic territory. Developing such economic conditions is possible only by

opening up to the world and by creating and developing a single Yugoslav market that will realistically evaluate all production factors. This implies the market value of commodities, services, capital, innovations, and know-how, and a specific labor market under social ownership and workers' self-management.

The LC is of the opinion that the introduction of market and economic laws under given historic conditions are an essential prerequisite for successfully developing socialist self-management, for encouraging workers' production and creative initiative, and for ensuring the efficient management of socially owned means. It is therefore of crucial importance for the LCY to amend and revise its ideothoretical theses and, once and for all, to eliminate inertia and break with the proponents of dogmatic, bureaucratic, and other conservative resistance to and views of the need for economic and market evaluation of all production factors. Failure to observe and recognize the market value of these factors leads to an increase in the economic and social powers of etatism, bureaucratism, and voluntarism, and lowers and thwarts economic efficiency and the political democracy of socialist self-management.

Socialism in many countries is in a crisis because of the fact that the values and relations within social reproduction were, as a rule, created in an arbitrary, administrative, and authoritarian manner, thus degrading not only objective economic criteria and laws, but also suppressing the working man's production power and creative initiative. Yugoslav society could not remain immune to the effects of such an approach.

To promote the functioning of market laws, conditions must be created to ensure that the economic system and policy provide scope for the functioning of all market elements, for the independence of economic entities—which, in turn, will motivate workers to manage socially owned means efficiently and to treat them as socially owned capital—for forming prices according to market terms. It is also necessary to ensure that the economic system and policy provide for the accountability of economic entities for their decisions and the risks they take, for enhancing the role of commodity trade and banks, for the conditions and criteria for the more efficient functioning of the state organs' and also for all the elements of modern planning in economic development.

The LC must invest efforts to ensure that, by further improving the economic system and social practice, planning becomes a right and an instrument of workers organized on the basis of self-management and all working citizens for directing their own development and the development of society under conditions of commodity production and market economy. It is necessary to enhance the role of self-management-based social planning at all levels, from organizations of associated labor

to the Federation, by developing modern planning methods, promoting economic criteria, and taking note of contemporary models of development in the world.

The present-day development of our society calls for the creation of all conditions necessary for promoting associated labor on the basis of socialist self-management and for the independence and accountability of economic entities for making business and development decisions. These should serve as a basis for the self-management-based integration within both the economy and society; for our opening to the world, destroying all forms of autarky in the economy; and for developing a single Yugoslav market.

The LC must make all its members, and especially the LC leaderships, more accountable for the implementation of the adopted political theses, above all of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the long-term program for economic stabilization.

2. It is urgently necessary to embark on economic reform and, in particular, on reform of the economic system, the foundations for which will be laid by the constitutional changes, while at the same time enhancing socialist self-management, heightening the accountability and independence of economic entities, and consolidating economic criteria and market-based relations. The work on constitutional changes should be accompanied by work on changes to the economic system. Communists in relevant organs and organizations have a duty to ensure that changes in the economic system are adopted by the end of 1988.

3. The LCY Conference stresses the need for further implementing the constitutional concept of social ownership as the basis of the relationship of socialist self-management, primarily by improving the mechanisms necessary for enhancing its economic functions and for making workers accountable for ensuring that socially owned means are used efficiently. The efficiency of socialist self-management, of the economic and political system, and especially of the system of accountability in society depends on how this concept is further developed. We must abandon the idea of social ownership under which only labor and not social capital is a criterion for appropriating work results.

In a market economy, socially owned means must be regenerated and increased in line with the economic criteria of success. It is also necessary to develop various forms of financial markets and to create conditions for the faster circulation of the means of social reproduction and their more efficient exploitation as required by an open economy and technological progress.

The fuller development of the principal factor of social ownership is a condition for developing the autonomy, efficiency, motivation, self-management-based and material responsibility of all other factors in society. The organizations of associated labor must have the status of

independent, legal, economic, and market entities in order to make them motivated and responsible for their own development and for the best possible business results, while at the same time starting real production costs. The economic and development interests of workers in an organization of associated labor must become the basis of the system of expanded reproduction and be a motivating force for the pooling of resources and the mobility of accumulation. They must provide workers with the right to manage invested resources and, by implication, the right to avail themselves of business results, including profits, while at the same time taking the full commercial risk. The system should be developed in such a way as to energetically suppress all forms of state-property and group-property relations and behavior within social reproduction.

The LC calls for a clearer definition of the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of workers in associated labor in their role as social ownership entities in order to ensure that the system of remuneration according to work results, both with regard to current labor and to the successful management and employment of socially owned means, is conducive to augmenting socially owned means. Competition in the spheres of know-how and capacities should be promoted, as well as the idea of having to bear both self-managing and economic responsibility for the uneconomical management and use of socially owned means, and to bear the economic consequences, which will be reflected in personal incomes and common consumption, and in even losing the right to manage these means.

In addition to socially owned property, as the prevailing form, it is necessary to develop other forms of ownership—cooperative, private, personal—as these are very important factors in material development, in restructuring the economy, and raising employment. It is necessary to remove all obstacles and to destroy the dogmatic, bureaucratic mind-set and excessive administration. All these hamper the development of all these forms of property. It is also necessary to develop various forms in which to pool them with socially owned means. Ideological theses that view the increased involvement of citizens' resources and of foreign capital in production as an ominous attempt at undermining the character of social-ownership relations are not acceptable.

It is necessary to create social conditions that are conducive to developing business efficiency, free initiative, and an enterprising spirit within social ownership relations and workers' management, in order both to further develop and use science and to improve social practice. This should particularly come to the fore in selecting new products, introducing modern production methods and forms of work organization, forming new organizations, taking risks when placing goods on the market, introducing new technologies, and developing initiative and creativity in the interest of all workers and the development of socialist self-management.

The LC is advocating a system of expanded reproduction in which the process of circulation and optimal use of socially owned capital is to the largest extent based on joint investment between Yugoslav organizations of associated labor and domestic and foreign subjects and, to a smaller extent, on classic credit terms. It is necessary to give support to various forms of noncredit investment characteristic of the market economy and to use the economy's and citizens' available resources.

4. The LCY Conference emphasizes that, in order to free associated labor, the delegate system, and society as a whole from statist and normative shackles, it is necessary to overcome faster and more radically the existing excessive amount of norms in the economic life, to stop administrative intervention in the economy, and to remove other noneconomic obstacles and develop new-quality regulations and functions for the state by taking into account economic laws and the mixed character of our economy. These are tasks facing sociopolitical communities, self-managing communities of interests, and organizations of associated labor. At the same time, the state must find an efficient way of carrying out its essential functions at all levels with maximum reduction in administration and enhanced capacity to fulfill its functions successfully. The main point of departure in the work on changes in the SFRY Constitution, and in the economic system and policy, must be the need for deregulation and for creating conditions in which workers in associated labor will decide independently on income and will control the processes of reproduction under the free functioning of economic laws and market criteria, with the necessary regulation of economic trends on the basis of social self-management.

5. Market-based economic activity is a prerequisite for increasing the efficiency of and rationalizing economic operations. Increased worker organization of associated labor motivation for more productive work and more efficient use of resources is of vital importance for the successful development of socialist self-management and for its material basis, for radically changing the position of economic entities in the generation and distribution of income and personal incomes in line with the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress. By introducing specific instruments of economic motivation, it is vital to stimulate and raise the level of material and social value of good-quality work and, in particular, production work, creativity, innovation, and the ability to make better business decisions on the part of self-managing and management organs. Economic motivation should be pegged to the results attained and should reflect the principle of distribution according to work results and to their market value. An important role in achieving this will be played by Communists in the trade union organization. This will help to eliminate inertia caused by the tendency toward the levelling of incomes, to overcome tendencies to oversimplify, to do away with monopolies over jobs, to eliminate the practice of nationalizing losses, and to differentiate between success and failure, between work and idleness. The LC must vigorously

oppose views that seek to rely on state intervention rather than on motivation to achieve greater results on both the domestic and foreign market, primarily by raising labor productivity, increasing efficiency in the use of socially owned capital especially in the sphere of investment, by reexamining and radically reducing costs, and by raising the quality of all economic entities. The changes in the economic system should be conducive to stimulating these processes.

The LCY Conference calls for consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress on the need to relieve the burden of taxation on the economy's revenue and to increase its share in the distribution of income.

6. The orientation toward market economy and toward our economy's increased participation in the international division of labor will require that we reexamine the strategy of development and outline the long-term strategies and medium-term development policy for the country, which has to be realistic and must take into account the need to further develop self-management and the independence of economic entities. It must also take into account the need to introduce the intensive method of economic activity, to restructure the economy, to rely on our own resources, to pursue a market-oriented development, to have an economy open to economic groups in the world, to expand exports, and to satisfy the requirements of scientific and technological progress and more efficient environmental protection. All economic and systemic solutions and all economic, development and, in particular, investment policy measures must be conducive to this development strategy.

The priority economic and sociopolitical task at the current juncture is to reactivate production, to increase the rate of social product growth and exports, and to raise the quality of economic operations, these being the vital prerequisites for the successful resolution of material and social problems and for enhancing the organizations of associated labors' ability to generate resources and its position in the distribution of income. This is an important prerequisite and also the way toward curbing and reducing inflation—the country's most serious economic, social, and political problem. These call for maximum efforts on the part of the LC and of all other subjective forces in implementing the program of measures and actions aimed at resolving present economic difficulties and stabilizing the economy as outlined by the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress.

A faster development of the agro-industrial complex, of small businesses, tourism, transport, housing construction, etc. is of vital importance for the implementation of the stabilization policy as a whole, for activating economic growth, and for carrying out changes in the structure of the economy. In view of the special importance of the need to increase food production for overall economic stabilization, the LCY Conference insists that all necessary measures be taken in order to urgently

resolve accumulated and exacerbated problems affecting this area, especially its unfavorable position in the distribution of income. The LCY Conference also calls for Communists in the relevant organs and organizations to be made more accountable for the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the 8th LCY Central Committee Plenum on these issues.

A speedier process for structural changes and for the Yugoslav economy's structural readjustments are the main prerequisites for its overall efficiency and competitiveness and are among our lasting tasks. This requires a creative social climate and calls for the country's considerable creative potentials to be activated on a large scale, for the formation of new, smaller organizations of associated labor, for an adequate method of encouraging and evaluating socialist entrepreneurship, and for making use of all the advantages our socialist self-managing system offers.

Structural changes, to be verified by the functioning of the domestic and foreign market, as well as the corresponding structural readjustments required from our economy, must be stimulated and supported by the development of economic policy measures, by plan guidelines, and by the economic system as a whole. This will help us to carry out the process of creative transfer of all those technologies that provide the tenor for present-day technological development.

Maintaining and perpetuating the existing economic structures, whose development has never been based on real economic categories, on the requirements of the market, and on the latest scientific achievements, on technologies, and on work organization, would be of serious danger to our more efficient development and to overcoming the crisis. Changes in the economic structure will require corresponding readjustments in the structure of cadres in organizations of associated labor and in society as a whole.

7. Communists and all subjective forces face the task of contributing to the efforts to overcome our country's considerable lagging behind in economic, scientific, technical, and technological development and of enabling it to take part in the international division of labor and in present-day economic, scientific, and technological trends more quickly, more actively, and more efficiently.

The LCY gives its full support for the concept and strategy of development and for the long-term development policy based on the model of open economy and export expansion as the prerequisites for a more dynamic and stable development.

One of the key objectives and tasks of our socioeconomic development is to increase exports. This should be done on the basis of the criteria of the world market and of the organizations of associated labors' interest in enhancing business results and foreign currency earnings, especially

from the convertible currency areas. The development policy, the economic policy measures, and the instruments of the economic system must be directed to this end.

8. The LCY Conference stresses the need for the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress on the policy of speeding up the development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and of the even faster development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. This policy should be carried out as an integral part of the country's faster and more harmonized development by maximum reliance on our own resources, by the more economical use of resources, by promoting common economic interests of the developed and the insufficiently developed areas—especially through the pooling of labor and resources—while at the same time observing economic laws and market criteria, and with the support of our entire community. To this end, it is necessary to reexamine, improve, and increase the efficiency of the system of measures for stimulating the faster development of the insufficiently developed areas and search for new, more adequate solutions for the system and for development and economic policy by proceeding from the fact that the faster development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and the even faster development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is our long-term political and economic commitment, taking into account the need to reform the economic system. It is necessary, as soon as possible, to outline the criteria for determining the degree of development of the republics and provinces.

The development of Kosovo calls for the greatest attention and support from the entire Yugoslav community. This will be achieved by the consistent implementation of the resolution on the province's fastest development, of the Yugoslav program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, by enabling the return of those who emigrated and of those who want to live and work in the province, and by taking other measures.

9. Respect for economic laws and market criteria will strengthen the process of reexamining the social position, of the method of financing, of the justification for a rationale behind the network of social activities, and of the results of their work. This will promote more rational development, their more successful integration with the economy, and their broader assertion as factors in the development of material production forces and in the formation of social values. This will also serve as a factor in improving the standard of living in keeping with the complexity and specific features of individual activities. It will also help eliminate the restrictive attitude that is now present vis-a-vis the development of these activities. The condition for doing that lies in reducing the participation of state organs and of parastatal institutions in deciding the conditions in which these activities are to be carried out and in the method of their organization.

Their necessary restructuring, rationalization, and development on qualitative foundations in the function of the growth of the social product and of satisfying the requirements of the working people and citizens must be carried out to the greatest possible extent through direct relations between the working people who discharge these activities and the workers interested in the results of their work.

The LCY Conference demands that all outstanding questions in connection with the free exchange of labor and organization of social activities be critically and thoroughly examined.

10. The switchover to new conditions of economic operation and development, the activity of the market and the restructuring of the economy on present-day foundations; opening up; and major social changes, especially of the people who because of the restructuring will remain without a job, for whom efficient solutions have to be found in the system; economic and development policy and the training of the economic subject for that. [sentence as received]

The social problems can no longer be resolved only in the sphere of social policy but primarily within the framework of economic and development policy, in conditions of a dynamic growth rate and consolidation of the efficiency of economic management, increased revenue, and consistent implementation of the distribution of income according to the results of work.

It is also necessary to get rid of the administrative and other constraints so as to allow the working people to be employed more rapidly and to permit the problem of existence to be resolved through the development of small-scale businesses in industry, agriculture, transport, tourism, intellectual and other services, and in other activities. In order to attain this, practical solutions have to be devised on credit, taxation, and land policy, and in town development legislation, use of credit, polling of resources, committing one's personal funds, and various forms of integration between the social and the private sector.

Changes in the economic system, economic and development policy, and the activity of all the institutions of the system have to be used to create conditions and prerequisites to release the initiative and creative drive of individuals, groups, organizations of associated labor, and other social subjects so that, with the support of society, they can resolve their material and social problems. All the programs for the restructuring of the economy must contain the material and other social security conditions applicable to the workers who temporarily lose their job. Specific personal income must be secured for these workers, in keeping with legislation, during the time they are out of work, and conditions must be created allowing them to be retrained and productively employed as soon as possible.

The adoption of appropriate social programs at all levels of our society is an essential condition for the success of economic reform. The working people, organizations of associated labor, and all the subjects in our society must adopt an active attitude toward the solution of specific social problems and toward the implementation of social policy. In laying down and implementing these programs, we must proceed from the self-management position of our people to make decisions and earn income, from their spirit of initiative and ability to resolve more successfully their own problems and the problems of our society as a whole.

The current economic and social difficulties, especially those which will result from the change-over from the period of intervention measures to the processes of the liberalization of prices and more pronounced organization of associated labor market activity, require a more decisive solution of the standard of living problems of those sectors of the population whose position is worse than anyone else's, and the implementation of other social policy tasks whose solution cannot be put off. Organizations of associated labor, organs of sociopolitical communities, and all other organs, organizations, and institutions in the system must operate efficiently in that direction, in keeping with their functions and tasks within the system, and coordinate their activity. Compensation payments, subsidies, bonuses, and other social policy instruments must be used to achieve this within the limits of our material possibilities.

The redistribution of the burden of current economic difficulties, the struggle for stabilization and for overcoming the crisis must be carried out by reference to that sector of our population that possesses more and lives better. It is the special responsibility of the organs of sociopolitical communities to take timely and adequate taxation policy measures.

The policy of overcoming the socially unacceptable differences whose basis lies not in work or in the results of work must be resolutely carried out. By applying the law consistently and without compromise, all organizations and communities must vigorously prevent illegal usurpation and the flow of social resources into private and personal hands under any pretext whatsoever, and appropriate the illegally acquired property.

Communists must trigger the initiative whereby the appropriate organs will examine self-management and legal provisions that lay down the financial and other rights of protagonists of self-management, public, and social functions in order to reduce the number of subjects taking advantage of these rights, and to spell out and make more strict the conditions on the use of various compensation payments and perks so as to make the use of social resources more rational.

The LCY Conference believes that, in view of the complex nature and great economic and political significance of social problems, extensive discussions should

be embarked upon in our society, especially in the ambit of the trade unions, so as to arrive at a consistent program for the solution of these issues. The LCY Central Committee must assess the ideopolitical questions of social policy in our society and lay down specific tasks on the activity of LCY members, organizations, and leaderships.

The sociopolitical organizations must organize extensive discussions and activities with the workers to identify the difficulties and to seek solutions for living and social questions, as required by the economic reform, and changes in the structure of production.

11. The LCY Conference demands that by consistently implementing the long-term program of stabilization, the reform in local housing activity should be carried out more quickly. Economic criteria and market relations in this area have to be asserted, and conditions have to be created on this basis for faster housing construction and for the more efficient solution of the housing problems of the workers, coupled with the necessary help from society. This should be contributed to by the more intensive development of housing cooperatives.

12. The solution of current socioeconomic problems and the way out of the economic crisis in the conditions of the impact of market and economic laws calls for the opening up of a process of more pronounced cadre changes and the granting of trust and opportunity to those cadres who understand the depth and the complexity of these processes, who possess professional knowledge, creative abilities, and the initiative to make bolder business moves in keeping with present-day economic and technological requirements, who are abreast of contemporary economic processes in the world, and who are genuine fighters for the interests of the workers in associated labor and for the values and quality of socialist self-management. These processes will inevitably lead to differentiation between those who are capable and those who are incapable, between work and idleness, initiative, conservatism, dogmatism, technocracy, and the like. These principles must be heeded when establishing the criteria for the pursuit of the cadre policy at all levels of social organization, and for strongly supporting the criteria of professional, business, and self-management skills for the responsible and efficient discharge of the business of the organization of associated labor.

The independence of decisionmaking by the workers in organizations of associated labor in the pursuit of the cadre policy and in the choice of their management organs must be ensured.

13. In the solution of conflicts, the LC must campaign successfully for the affirmation of the constitutional position of the workers and for the consolidation of the efficiency of the self-management mechanism in removing the causes leading to work stoppages and to their consequences.

As far as work stoppages are concerned, LC members, organizations, and organs must have the initiative among the workers and must operate within the trade unions and self-management organs so that the key problems are uncovered without compromise, definitively, and their causes efficiently eliminated. The role of the trade unions, of workers' meetings, workers' councils, and of other forms of self-management and delegate decisionmaking must be reaffirmed in these activities.

The LCY Conference urges that the LC should immediately work out a comprehensive and standard ideopolitical attitude toward work stoppages.

14. The conference points out that the associated labor organizational principles based on self-management and on commodity production laws in conditions of social self-management are one of the key conditions for the way out of the crisis. The constitutional and legal norms in this area must be reduced to the basic principles of modern methods of organization and to the necessary guarantees for the implementation of these principles.

The conference stresses in particular that the following is necessary in the implementation of these tasks:

— To free associated labor more rapidly from the rigid and uniform organizational structure that has not been created according to economic criteria and on the market economy requirements.

— To secure the constitutional right of the workers to choose in which forms of their association they will discharge their right to control the totality of their revenue and to decide about other social reproduction issues, guided by economic logic in the conditions of the market economy, that is to say, by the necessity of discharging their production, business, and other functions efficiently.

— To secure the necessary conditions whereby organizations of associated labor appearing on the market as an independent business subject will be capable of fulfilling such a role and will be in a position to successfully carry out their entrepreneurial and other economic functions deriving from this, and have their business independence and rights coordinated with these functions and responsibilities.

— To affirm all positive experiences of organizations of associated labor by adapting their economic and self-management functions to the role that they objectively have within the framework of work organizations, and to cut out of the overall legislative system those laws that led to the rigidity of their economic and self-management status and function, and also to foil the rigidity of any organizational form within associated labor.

15. The conference stresses that bolder and deeper reforms in our economic system are required that will follow these basic objectives:

— The development of socialist self-management production relations and self-management democracy with its working class content and the consolidation of the equality of nations and nationalities.

— The efficiency of the political system in the function of consolidating the independence and freedom of the workers associated along self-management lines as commodity producers and creators of new value.

— The emancipation and motivation of all material and debtor forces through the overcoming of statist encirclements, especially of normativism and the imposition of organizational and other models.

Knowledge, resolve, and ability are required of Communists so that they can revolutionize specific social relations through the creative application of existing, and the elaboration of new, systemic solutions in accordance with the requirements of our social practice. An end must be put to the situation of powerlessness in LC ranks in the implementation of the systemic solutions and to the lack of readiness by a section of the membership to break with the habit of abiding dogmatically by ideological and normative constructions and models.

The LCY, and especially its Central Committee, must become involved as a matter of priority in the ideopolitical clarification of all outstanding questions and proposals that emerged from the public discussion on the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution so as to contribute to the democratic coordination of stands. Successful implementation of constitutional changes that are of decisive significance for the economic reform, consolidation of a single Yugoslav market, the greater influence of associated labor in all the assemblies, and legality in our society depend on that. Proceeding from that the conference stresses:

— The incipient constitutional changes must be prepared without delay and completed by the established deadline.

— The changes must be discussed and decided on the basis of the totality of agreed proposals, including the proposals given in the public discussion, which promote socialist self-management and strengthen the equality of our nations and nationalities.

— After the adoption of the amendments, the issues that at this stage of the changes have not been studied adequately or for which agreed answers have not been devised must be patiently continued. This will make possible the preparation of the new constitution, which will proceed consistently from the strategic commitments of our society implicit in the basic principles about socialist self-management, equality of our nations and nationalities, the federal structure of our community, and the rights and freedoms of our working people and citizens as established by our constitution, which

will be a shorter, more comprehensible, and more modern constitutional document, and which will more adequately express the requirements of the present stage of our socialist self-management development, and which, above all, will more boldly release the self-management initiative and the freedoms of the people.

It is the thesis of the LCY that every person is entitled freely to express his thoughts, aspirations, and interests, including political ones, and to work for their implementation because this is a condition for socialist self-management democracy and freedom. The pluralism of self-management interests, as an expression of that freedom, does not depend on norms and decrees; it exists. For socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, the key question is in what form this pluralism is politically organized and expressed. The LC will resolutely fight against the organization and expression of political interests that are directed toward a denial of the foundations of our system of socialist self-management.

The LCY must be united ideopolitically in rejecting both the demands for a pluralist party system and the wishes for the restoration of the system for the party-state monolithic unity because both the former and the latter signify a step backward in relations to socialist self-management and turn the worker and every person into an abstract political citizen.

Our commitment is toward the pluralism of self-management interests, including the self-management political pluralism within the framework of that pluralism that is expressed in the Socialist Alliance as the broadest front with a socialist program orientation. In the struggle for the further development of socialist self-management democracy, the LCY proceeds from the fact that further democratization of our social life is absolutely essential in order to secure for the socialist forces the undeniably leading social role and make possible the broadest possible manifestation of all social forces that accept the socialist character of our society and the self-management status of the workers and of the working people within it and within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

For the implementation of these commitments it is necessary:

— To persistently enlarge the possibility of direct expression of interest as the substance of socialist self-management democracy, which in terms of its quality surpasses the political party pluralism.

— To resolutely oppose the practice whereby the system and political organizations inhibit the people within the most restricted circle of their daily practical interests, within basic organizations and communities enlarging the scope for the political monopoly to define the interests on a wider plane.

— To allow free work-functional and interest-linked integration and even the manifestation of alternatives on the broader social plan within the framework of the socialist self-management orientation of the subjective forces associated within the SAWP.

— To resolutely act against the dogmatic defense of the present situation and to ensure that self-management interests, including self-management and political pluralism, are expressed in the institutions of the system and not in the extra-institutional area, which requires a thorough renewal of the SAWP and a change in the LC status and responsibility within it.

17. The LCY must resolutely, completely, and as soon as possible abandon the position of the party in power and the method of its activity within the political system that expresses such a position. It must give up its efforts, through its organs, to hold a monopoly on the key positions of authority on behalf of the working class and assert itself as a force that fights so that these positions can be held by the subjects of socialist self-management and especially by the workers and the working people.

The break between the LC, bureaucratic practice, and the insularity of its work has become inevitable.

The conference stresses that the measures of democratization of the LCY and of the overall front of socialist self-management forces that are channelled into the following cannot be postponed:

— The break with "the personal union" between the LC leaderships and the state organs, separation of the LC executive-political organs and the management business that belong to the mechanism of state authority, and the return to the program principle that the LC should not operate from positions of authority but as a guiding ideological force within the self-management organizations and communities.

— Ensuring much broader and more constant democratic communication and reciprocal responsibility between the LC leadership and membership.

— The development of a democratic conflict of opinion among Communists, which is the condition for the LC theses to be established in a democratic way, for democratic centralism not to be reproduced as bureaucratic centralism and for helping the LC membership and organs to engage in a democratic conflict of opinion in our society through the democratic system and the Socialist Alliance.

— The abolition of the cadre monopoly of groups and individuals in social institutions—that is, the privileges based on LCY membership—through a genuine democratic competition of the skills, ability, work qualities, and the results of work and self-management political involvement.

— The abolition of the present de facto established status of the sociopolitical chambers, partly sanctioned by the Constitution, as "generally appropriate" chambers by restricting the role of these chambers only to their participation in the adoption of decisions on accurately established strategic questions on the area of development and protection of the political system.

18. The LCY must self-critically identify its own responsibility for the situation in the Socialist Alliance and prevent the covert renewal of the interaction [transmisija] between the LC and SAWP organs and organs in other sociopolitical organizations. The development of socialist self-management democracy and the increasingly full expression of pluralism of self-management interests as a socioeconomic and political substance of this democracy requires a deep-seated and comprehensive transformation of the role and method of activity of the Socialist Alliance, of the Federation of Trade Unions, and of other social organizations. It is impermissible to put off the transformation, which is being urged by our entire society and on which the LCY Central Committee has adopted clear stances. This is especially so in a situation where the problems in political life are increasingly piling up. These problems include the conflicts of economic and political interests, which often act as a check on delegate decisionmaking and in which the statist parallel system of informal power acts as an arbiter; the mounting politization of individual associations, individual editorial boards, and similar institutions that individuals and groups are trying to take advantage of so that they can come together to promote political opposition; and the mounting movement in the extra-institutional area, with politically pronounced programs, etc.

The Communists in the Socialist Alliance must be resolute in the struggle to ensure that this organization should not remain a predominantly bureaucratic system of organs without democratic communication with the citizens and all the organizations of socialist orientation.

Communists in the SAWP must set in train a total critical and self-critical reexamination of the practice that leads to the rejection of self-managing and political demands and programs containing a dogmatic interpretation of LC policy, instead of the broadest criteria of a socialist orientation. Socialist self-managing democracy demands that all progressive social forces within this orientation, which are interested in and capable of forming and effectively representing various initiatives for the solution of individual social problems and conflicts and for opening up further prospects for the development of socialist self-management, be motivated and respected in full measure. The LC will advocate that such initiatives are generated, discussed, sociopolitically verified, represented, and directed within the framework of the SAWP.

19. The development of the delegate assembly system can no longer be thought of without the essential removal of much ideopolitical confusion and deviations

in connection with the pluralism of self-managing interests. Growing social tensions that have been compounded by the crisis, over-large economic and political differences in the country, and the conflicts of interest that have emerged with them, often having antagonistic characteristics, require that the LCY and other subjective forces contribute much more effectively and responsibly to the resolution of conflicts of interest in our society.

The LC will insist that the direct and historical interests of the working class and working people represent the basic synthesis of interests in delegate decisionmaking and that, with democratic debate and the reaching of agreements in institutions of the delegate system, a synthesis is reached of the multitude of self-managing interests, that the disorderly struggle is overcome in which the current configuration of forces, or statist-bureaucratic coercion over self-managing interests makes the decisions.

The LC advocates the following changes in the delegate assembly system:

- The elimination of exaggerated institutionalization and the setting of norms that impede and inhibit working people in the development of the most effective forms for establishing and strengthening delegate relations.

- New solutions and measures in the electoral system to strengthen delegate links and relations and the motivation of the electorate such as: the most widespread use of direct elections for delegates, more candidates for each delegate place and for public officials in the delegate system, and secret ballots.

- The strengthening of the role of the delegate assemblies and especially their control and supervision of the executive and administrative organs, the strengthening of the personal responsibility of all public officials, a fundamental reexamination, or rather the restriction of the role and authority of the Presidencies of the republics and provinces, including the question of the justification of their existence.

20. The conference indicates the justification of the demand for as complete as possible a definition and as effective as possible a realization of the functions of the Federation, both the self-managing ones and the state ones, and especially those secured by:

- The constant strengthening of the equality and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities.

- The effective realization of the constitutional functions of the Federation and its organs in the interests of associated labor organized on a self-managing basis, a market-orientated and productive economy within the

single economic area of the country, and the elimination of statist meddling by the federal state in the processes of social reproduction beyond its constitutional authority and functions.

- The strengthening of the single Yugoslav market.

- The creation of equal conditions in which to do business.

- The expansion and the clearer and more complete constitutional elaboration of the individual rights and duties of the Federation, particularly in the field of law-making and in the executive sphere, which are essential for the implementation of the constitutional principles (?in) the fundamental functions of the Federation.

- The more effective promulgation of federal laws. The significant increase in the influence of associated labor on decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly in conformity with the widely expressed demands in the public debate. This is why it is necessary, by further work on the preparations of the draft constitutional amendments, to make a fundamental examination of all the arguments and assess the proposals leading to this, including those that relate to the constituting of a Chamber of Associated Labor in the SFRY Assembly.

Yugoslav Communists have always approached, and today too they must approach the problems of the development of the Yugoslav socialist federative community starting consistently from the orientation that it came into being and developed as an expression of the profound consciousness and true interests of our nations and nationalities; that only united can they secure their survival, national freedom, and development. In addition, they must begin from the orientation that full national freedom, equality, and the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities can be expressed and realized only in a federative community that is built and developed on the historic interests of the working class and socialism and that it is the historic interest of the working class. Thus it also begins from the orientation of the real and national interest of the nations and nationalities in strengthening Yugoslav unity and togetherness; from the orientation that socialist self-management and the increasing self-management integration of Yugoslav society, based on the pooling of labor and resources, are the basic condition for strengthening the freedom, independence, equality, and happier future of each of our nations and nationalities and of each person; and that the realization of the full equality of the nations and nationalities is a major characteristic of the Yugoslav road to socialism.

Starting from this, a central question for Communists in the development of our Federation is the development of social relations in which class and national interests in

the Yugoslav multinational community will be articulated and harmonized by associated workers and working people organized on the basis of self-management in the republics, provinces, and in the Federation. It is only in these socioeconomic relations that the unity of class and national interests can be secured, by strengthening the social power of workers and working people and of the national freedoms and equality of the nations and nationalities, and that they can be prevented from being divided against each other either from a position of separatist nationalism or from a position of bureaucratic-dogmatic state centralism. In this respect it is most important that workers and working people organized on the basis of self-management be the basic force of every sociopolitical community.

The LCY Central Committee must clarify in a timely fashion and in an ideopolitical way all the current open questions in the system and practice of the development of our Federation, monitor the implementation of congress theses on its functioning, and contribute to the more rapid prevention of all the confusion and conflict that could help erode the Yugoslav community.

Included in such problems are: the aspirations to formulate—outside the context of the Yugoslav community and socialist self-management—the so-called “national programs” and make absolute the national (republican) societies as being synonymous with an economic, social, political, and cultural community of a people that divides it off from the basic common characteristics of Yugoslav society. Also included are: the insistence on such national special characteristics that in practice promote disintegration and that objectively also bring into question the existence of Yugoslav society and advocate the transformation of Yugoslavia into a territory (a geographical concept) of communities of national and social entities, and the request for basic constitutional solutions that would turn the republics and provinces into units entirely dependent on the center of the state.

The conference stresses in particular the duty of the LCY to ensure the unity of all socialist self-managing forces in terms of serving the theses of the 13th LCY Congress on the development and strengthening of relations on which unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia are based. There must be insistence on the responsibility of everyone in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the socialist autonomous provinces, the SFRY, and especially the organs of the republic and the organs of the socialist autonomous provinces to carry out this task because the achievement of unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is of vital importance not only to the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to the socialist autonomous provinces but also to the implementation of the constitutional conception of the Yugoslav Federation and to the unity of the LCY and the stability of the whole country.

Starting from this, from the agreement reached so far on the questions raised by the SFRY Presidency proposal that relates to the constitutional position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to the socialist autonomous provinces, and from the fact that the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and especially on the establishment of the proposal to set about changing the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, joint and additional efforts should be made to coordinate stances and overcome differences that still exist on questions of the constitutional regulation of unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia contained in the proposal to set about changing the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, including the one which relates to the precise definition of the functions performed by the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state and self-managing community throughout its territory so that the conditions might be generated for the successful completion of the changes that have been begun in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the Constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces.

It is of exceptional importance that all these questions be discussed without delay, through joint efforts, and with full responsibility, and that agreed-on solutions be found to these questions in the framework of the constitutional changes that are under way. This is a priority task for the organizations and organs of the LC, and above all for the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Kosovo LCY Provincial Committee, and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and their Presidiums, as well as Communists in organs in which decisions are made about these questions.

In searching for solutions to all these questions, the starting point should consistently be the stances of the LCY Central Committee on the current questions of the implementation of the relations on which unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia are based and which the 13th LCY Congress established as the ideopolitical basis for the activity of Communists as well as their duty.

21. The LCY Conference insists most resolutely that the LCY Central Committee, the Central Committees of all the republics and the LC Provincial Committees ensure consistently and completely the implementation of the conclusions of the 9th LCY Central Committee session and the resolution of the 13th Congress on Kosovo, and intensify responsibility and differentiation on these questions. The LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee have special responsibility. The conference highlights the crucial role of the unity, harmony, resoluteness, and common work and responsibility of all the socialist forces in Yugoslavia and especially in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the implementation of the

Yugoslav program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and the return of emigrants and the arrival of all who wish to live and work in the province.

With the renewal of intranational trust and the creation of prospects for the communal life of members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo on the basis of full equality and the energetic opposition to the activity of, above all, Albanian nationalism and separatism as well as Serbian and Montenegrin and all other nationalisms, and with the more effective ideopolitical action and responsible and effective work of the judicial, state, and other organs in the province, it must be more resolutely and effectively ensured that all citizens of Kosovo be equal in respect of their freedom and their legal, personal, and property security, national equality, and human dignity. The determination of the LC and of society as a whole in this respect must be proved by the strengthening and reaffirmation of intranational trust and the confidence of working people and citizens in the institutions of the political system and in all the major achievements of socialist self-management. Most responsibility for this is borne by Communists in Kosovo. It depends to the largest extent on them and on other Communists what sort of success we will have in overcoming the divisions on a national basis that occur in the Kosovo LC as well.

22. All-people's defense is united and indivisible and expresses the direct and lasting interest of the working class and of working people and citizens, of all our nations and nationalities and of the Socialist Republic and the socialist autonomous provinces. The LC will affirm ideopolitically and further develop the values and goals of the conception of all-people's defense and social self-protection, which in practice has confirmed itself as the only possible alternative for the defense and self-protection organization of our society. LC organizations and organs must advocate more directly and resolutely the more rapid socialization of defense and security so that working people and citizens and other self-managing subjects are expressed in practical terms as the exponents of the basic initiatives and decisions in their field.

With a clear ideological orientation and resolute action in line with the decisions of the 13th congress, the LC will ensure the unity of action of all the subjects of the defense and self-protection system in the defense of the freedom, independence, territorial integrity, and the constitutional system of the SFRY. In connection with this, it is vital to discern in good time and in a well-argued way, and resolutely eliminate any attack on the conception of all-people's defense and social self-protection and on the Yugoslav People's Army as the armed force of all our nations and nationalities, working people, and citizens.

23. The LCY must do much more to develop consciousness about self-managing society as a society of full democratic public openness. The LCY will campaign for

the opening up of all self-managing and other institutions and in particular all functions to the democratic control of the socialist self-managing public. No function and no social job can be concealed in a bureaucratic way and carried out behind the backs of the public. This must become a basic norm of behavior in order for the work of each social institution and individual to be placed before the judgment of the public and of well-argued evaluation and criticism.

The conference points out the great importance of public information dissemination in the further development of socialist self-managing democracy. The conference stresses that the exponents of editorial policy and especially communists in the public information media have great responsibility in the corresponding organs and bodies of the SAWP and in the councils of the public media for objective, comprehensive, and conscientious information dissemination as a vital element in the creation of democratic public opinion.

24. The conference stresses that the disruption of constitutionality and legality should not be tolerated, whatever the excuse for it, and that this principle must be defended as one of the bases of the functioning of our statehood and of our political system. It implies the consistent respect of the Constitution and the law by all subjects of the system, from the working individual and citizens up to the highest state and party organs. Socialist self-management in this respect accepts and effectively expands the progressive democratic achievements of contemporary civilization to the working class character of economic and other essential rights and freedoms of workers and of each working individual and citizen.

The extent of our system of socialist self-managing democracy should not be revised by dogmatic-bureaucratic restrictions or by various bourgeois-restoration-orientated restrictions. It is necessary to strengthen and develop consciousness, with much more creative and communist conviction, about the fundamental importance of the original self-managing rights and freedoms of workers and citizens and, above all, about their incomparably greater extent and democratic content in our society than is offered by bourgeois society, which is limited in a major way by class exploitation.

Communists must be clear in their orientation toward the working class character of our democracy and toward the increasingly large destatized social area, which can be conquered only by expanding and strengthening social self-managing democracy and not by political factional infighting.

25. The more successful development of production forces and socioeconomic relations also demands radical changes in the way in which the leading role of the LC is implemented. In order for it to confirm its role as the

vanguard of the working class and as a factor of cohesion within Yugoslav society, the LC must carry out its own ideopolitical, organizational, and cadre transformation more boldly.

The LC must reexamine critically the causes of the weaknesses in the implementation of its own program orientations so that it can remove tendencies toward bureaucratization and avoid returning to methods of operation from a position of the (?party and the system), and resolutely overcome the situation in which its leading role is being exhausted, mainly by the [word indistinct] transfer of tasks to the institutions of the system, and enabling in practice their political monopoly in a society characteristic of a one-party system. Instead of acting from a position of authority, coalescing with operational and administrative structures, and taking on their roles and responsibilities, the LC must, by the way in which it works and by the direct activity of its membership in the institutions of the system, contribute to them taking over and realizing autonomously their role and responsibility without waiting for ready-made solutions from LC organs.

The conference believes that the LCY can implement its policy successfully by democratizing relations within the LC and only to the extent to which its members, organizations, and organs contribute, by their activities, to strengthening the revolutionary activity of the working class and to realizing its interests through the system of socialist self-management.

26. The ideopolitical unity and unity of action of the LCY are of decisive importance for consolidating the ranks and strengthening the social role of the LCY. The unity of the LC must be built up by democratically coordinating the interests of the working class, nations, and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and must be affirmed in specific issues through the joint programs for the development of our country. LCY unity must be constantly further developed and affirmed, proceeding always from working class interests and goals and the new demands of the specific social and economic situation and the established policy, and taking account of the specific conditions of operating and the subjectivity of members and organizations in reviewing and resolving the special problems of every environment, as well as wider social interests. This unity can be the fruit only of democratic internal life in the LC, of open and critical examination of every proposal and of its civilizing, humanistic, ideological, and practical political scope and content.

Unity cannot be a synonym for the monopoly role of the political organization, nor for undemocratic actions by diverse groups within it, nor for unprincipled deals and compromises that would prevent the joint action of the forces of socialist consciousness and creativity.

Individual members, organs, and organizations in the LCY can no longer be permitted arbitrarily to determine what they will and will not carry out of the adopted

theses of the LCY congresses and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee. Theses and decisions are adopted in a democratic way, and what has been adopted by the majority must, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, be carried out by those members and organizations that have a different opinion as well.

27. The conference stresses that the membership is justifiably subjecting the LC leaderships to criticism, and insisting on their responsibility for more unity in action on the part of the LCY. Particular stress is placed upon the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee, the central committees of the republican LCS, the provincial LC committees, the committee for the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and their executive political organs, for the LCY's united activity to implement the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress.

The conference demands determined elimination of the causes that in some organizations' work are more an expression of the interests of republican and provincial technocrats and self-styled elites than of the interests of the working class and the nations and nationalities, which often leads even as far as a coalition or even an unprincipled confrontation of leaderships of individual LCY organizations. Such practice and relations must be stopped by means of consistent implementation of statutory regulations and by eliminating the tendencies toward federalization of the LCY and legalization of the method of adopting decisions by obligatory agreement of republican and provincial leaderships. The LCY Central Committee is allotted a special role in this, since it is the LCY Central Committee that at the same time bears the greatest responsibility for ensuring that there is no renewal of bureaucratic centralism and party monopolism under the guise of strengthening unity.

28. The present time and the content of political actions demand that the LC should operate in a qualitatively new way, demand that the members should take a democratic part in drawing up and implementing policy, that the LC should be constantly open to the influences and criticism of the working class and people, and to the initiatives of the working people and citizens in the Socialist Alliance, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the youth and other organizations, delegate bodies, and self-managing organs.

All organs in the LCY must therefore be determined in suppressing bureaucratism, formalism, and opportunism in their work, and must by their overall activities encourage the initiative and creativity of each member and basic organization of the LC. They must realize their statutory obligation to examine the demands, criticism, and suggestions of members and organizations that are aired in debates on socially significant issues, and must inform the LC organizations of the reasons why these suggestions were not adopted.

Taking as its point of departure the situation in society and in its own ranks, and the members' criticism and demands and its own obligations to carry out the tasks from these standpoints, the LCY Central Committee should first and foremost establish its own responsibility and the responsibility of its Presidium and must carry out the necessary changes in the method and content of its work, in its cadre composition, and in the make-up of the Presidium and working bodies, in order to ensure that political stances are adopted in good time and that the adopted decisions are consistently implemented.

The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium must ensure ideopolitical unity in the main issues of the development of the economic and political systems and the democratic renewal of the LC. The LCY Central Committee must constantly strive to ensure that when policy is being established the creative synthesis of the best experience in the republican, provincial, and other organizations of the LC finds full expression. The LCY Central Committee is responsible for ensuring that the established policy and specific program to be adopted in working out the conference stances are consistently implemented.

The reaffirmation of democratic centralism and consistent implementation of democratic centralism are crucially important for strengthening ideopolitical unity and for renewal of the LCY's capacity for action. Every bias and inconsistency in its interpretation and application must be removed.

The diverse interests, which are also typical of socialist self-management, and which emerge in diverse interpretations by Communists, must be overcome by democratic debates, explanations, and decisionmaking on the principles of democratic centralism. They should not be made even deeper by a priori imposition of positions and bureaucratic means of political manipulation of the membership, organizations, and working people in the struggle for political superiority and power of groups and individuals. In the spirit of the demands for democratization of social relations as a whole, it is necessary to foster the culture of critical political dialogue, air several interpretations to take account of other opinions and arguments, and in a principled debate arrive at the most suitable decision and ways of implementing them effectively by everyone, including those who were in the minority during decisionmaking in the organs and organizations of the LC.

30. It is of particular importance for strengthening confidence in the LC and widening its prestige and influence in the working class and in society, that the work of the LC as a whole and at all levels should be more open, and that all its organizations and organs consistently implement the principle of openness of work.

Openness in work is a vital prerequisite for overcoming manifestations of isolation in forums and tendencies toward opportunistic compromises and for suppressing carping criticism, careerism, and the struggle for power, abuse of office, and privilege. This will develop the consciousness of Communists' responsibility to the working people for their work and conduct and for their ability and readiness to fight in a well-argued and democratic public debate for the stances of the LC, and thereby to win people over to LC policy.

It is incumbent upon the organs and organizations of the LC to establish clear obligations in ensuring that their work is public, and to ensure that the implementation of this obligation is monitored. In this regard, the LCY Central Committee Presidium should also substantially improve and modernize its work in informing the members and the wider public about its activities.

31. The political system cannot function successfully, nor can the goals of the entirety of social reform be realized unless the responsibility of members, organizations, and organs of the LC for consistent implementation of the established LCY policy is strengthened.

Ideopolitical responsibility in the LC, including resignations and removal from office, must become an integral part of realizing the leading role and strengthening the unity of the LCY. All executive political organs and their members must render account to the organizations and organs which elected them, and all together and individually to the membership. It is on the results of their work that their mandate should be cut or prolonged, or trust in them be confirmed or new people elected.

Implementation of the stances of the 13th congress assumes a process of renewal of the LCY along the program guidelines, in order to strengthen and maintain its working class revolutionary identity, reaffirm the moral prestige and image of the LCY members, and reinforce unity and the capacity for action.

The LC must be renewed, above all, by those who are in the forefront in work, whose prestige is wider, who raise the whole of society to a higher material, cultural, and human level, and change everything that puts a brake on and obstructs social relations, who are ready to seize obligations and carry them out responsibly. Thus will the LC more rapidly be strengthened with new forces of revolutionary action, energy, and knowledge, with new creative potential and young people, especially with workers in material production.

The conference calls for a more rapid and decisive process to get under way in the LC and especially in its leaderships, in regard to ideopolitical differentiation while implementing in practice the decisions of the 13th congress and the theses of this conference relating to the concept and program of constitutional changes, reform of the political system, and further democratic transformation of the LCY.

The process of differentiation and the ideological, moral, and cadre renewal of the LCY must be democratic, both in content and method, and must be conducted according to standard criteria of attitudes toward work and tasks in implementing the established policy and stances of the LC, and must not turn into disqualification, persecution, and humiliation of people.

There is no room in the LCY for those who fail to implement the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the theses of this conference or for those who act from nationalistic, dogmatic, bureaucratic, and bourgeois-liberalist positions. There is no room for those who break the law, abuse office and position, and gain personal advantage thereby, for those who undermine public property, or usurp the self-management rights of working people. There is no room in the LCY for those who by their behavior destroy its prestige, or who have lost their moral integrity and people's trust.

32. Taking as the point of departure the criteria and principles laid down at the congress, the LC must fight for a cadre policy which will guarantee that knowledge, ability, skill, competence, labor, and results achieved become the dominant criteria in selecting people for senior public posts; and in the LC advocacy of LC policy and high moral and political qualities should be added to these.

It is particularly important that holders of the most important functions in the LCY should have the ability to synthesize progressive social aspirations and experience in development of socialist self-management, struggle to realize the interests of Yugoslav society as a whole, and of integrational ideopolitical activity from the standpoint of these interests.

The most capable, educated, and skilled young people, who offer new ideas, initiatives, and programs to change the existing state of affairs and to further the development of socialist self-management, should assume the most responsible posts in associated labor, in institutions of the system, and in sociopolitical organizations.

In cadre policy, it is necessary to overcome and eliminate the sectarianism and the monopoly of individuals and informal groups that has to a considerable degree conditioned the negative selection of cadres. It is necessary to ensure fully democratic elections, secret voting, more candidates than the number to be elected, and to open up competition for creative abilities, knowledge, and suggestions for resolving specific problems.

The entire procedure of election to the highest organs in the LCY must be made more democratic, and in the future there should be more candidates on the lists than the number being elected.

The LC must be consistent in criticizing and preventing manifestations of group activity, familiarity, horizontal rotation, careerism, and privatization of individual public functions, bureaucratic cadre manipulation, and, in particular, subordination of the principles and criteria of cadre policy to the struggle for office and power.

33. The LC must fight for social conditions that would ensure that the young generation is the subject of overall social development and that the young generation's interests and needs are realized. Young people do not need any special position in society, but need to be fully involved in labor, production, creativity, and decision-making at all levels of social organization.

It is incumbent upon the LC to take far greater account of young people's interpretations of modern forms and contents of social commitment, and to adapt its own method of work to the new awarenesses and needs of young people, itself expressing the vital interests and aspirations of young people.

By taking action to create such social conditions and by giving a clear response to key open questions, the LC will motivate young people to join the LCY in greater numbers and to become directly involved in its activities.

Young people see their prospects as lying in a wider opening up of Yugoslav society for the interests and preoccupations of the young generation, for young people's criticism and new ideas, and in genuine democratization of social life and humanist relations, in introduction of new technologies, affirmation of production and intellectual labor, and greater respect for young people's sensibilities, knowledge, and creative talents.

It is essential that the total system of education and training should meet the requirements of modern development, knowledge, and technology, as well as the needs of our society's development.

34. Ideotheoretical work in the LC must be turned toward analysis of the causes of the existing crisis, toward interpreting ways of emerging from it, toward creative commitment of the social protagonists responsible for resolving that crisis, and toward the development of socialist self-management.

The LCY must encourage new theoretical knowledge and projects for the development of socialist self-management, in order to raise its material basis, to make social relations more democratic, and to strengthen the power of the working class. Through Marxist criticism of social practice, while being irreconcilable toward any kind of conservatism and dogmatism, it is necessary to confirm the LCY's theoretical and ideological vanguard nature by explaining social contradictions and establishing the directions of revolutionary action, and thereby to affirm the ideas and goals in whose realization lies the historic meaning of the workers and communist movement. In this sense, the LC must gather together through

theoretical work, ideological action, and ideological struggle all the progressive and socialist-oriented forces in science, culture, art, and other spheres of social creativity.

The renewal of the LC and interpretation of the project for further socialist development of Yugoslav society demand constant theoretical evaluation of all the key processes and of their historical dimensions and protagonists. In this regard, it is essential to analyze the relation between the LCY's program guidelines and the activities to implement these.

Within the LC, it is essential to develop an integrated system of Marxist education and ideopolitical training of members and leaderships of the LC and in society as a whole, the content, forms, and methods of which will be founded upon fundamental scientific knowledge, the program guidelines of the LCY, and the direct and long-term interests of Yugoslavia's working class. The conference advocates that standard bases for that system be established, from the basic organization to the supreme organs of the LCY.

The LC must be open to all progressive ideas of modern socialist thought, must take a critical attitude toward them and toward its own practice, and must be capable of itself making a new theoretical breakthrough and enriching its own fund of thought on the strategic course of the socialist revolution.

35. The conference states that alongside the struggle to develop socialist self-management the LC must oppose forces and ideas that question the historical values and results of our socialist revolution, but must at the same time eliminate the causes that conjure up those forces on the social and political scene.

On the social scene, protagonists of antisocialist and anticommunist notions are becoming increasingly vocal, advocating the alleged deideologization of society, while in fact trying, by disputing the leading role of the working class, to paralyze the action of its vanguard, and to impose the criteria and value categories of their own ideological and political orientations in order to embark upon a direct struggle for power.

In open, decisive, and well-argued struggle from Marxist positions, the LC must expose the unacceptability of such concepts and their antisocial and retrograde meaning, while at the same time conducting an ideopolitical struggle against the opportunism in its own ranks that expands the scope for such concepts to emerge. In decisively repelling retrograde tendencies and abuses of freedom of creativity, the LC will campaign even more determinedly for the freedom of genuine scientific and artistic creativity, as a necessary condition of further social progress.

There can be no dialogue with the forces that are assaulting the foundations of our society. In particular, we cannot be reconciled to nationalism as the most dangerous form of counterrevolution in our conditions. Attacking the equality, brotherhood, and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the nationalists are stirring up nationalist prejudices and hatred, exclusiveness, and chauvinistic passions. The LC must strengthen its ideological front, for any vacillation and toleration of antisocialist activity and any underestimation of the power and influence of its protagonists threatens the prospect of our society as a community that has opted for socialist self-management, the power of the working class, equality of nations and nationalities, independence, and nonalignment.

36. In order for the LCY to have a more crucial influence on changing the existing state of affairs and to be a more effective organizer of consistent realization of revolutionary continuity on the Titoist path of socialist self-management, it is essential that as it ushers in the 14th congress, the LCY should critically reexamine its activity in implementing in practice the program guidelines, content, and method of work of organizations and leaderships, and the statutory solutions that have not found affirmation in practice.

Proceeding from the proposals and initiatives put forward in debate, the stances of this conference and the stances of the Leagues of Communists of the republics and provinces, it is necessary to make a critical evaluation of that implementation, and also to review a number of statute regulations and draw up proposals for the appropriate changes for the next congress. First and foremost, a fuller review should be made of issues on the organization of the LC, capacity for action, democratization of internal life, the causes of federalization, and also the methods of work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, of the central committees of the republican LC's, and of the LC provincial committees and of their executive political organs, their mutual relations in building and implementing a single LCY policy, implementing collective labor. The length of the mandate in all LCY organs, the relation between the LC leadership and the organs of power, and also the relation between these leaderships and self-managing and managerial organs, and so forth should also be reviewed. The conference proposes that the LCY Central Committee should at once organize work on studying these matters, and should prepare appropriate proposals for the 14th LCY Congress.

37. The conference proposes that the LCY Central Committee should examine these stances, and on that basis establish its own immediate obligations and tasks. It should ensure the uniform activity of the entire LCY in the struggle to emerge from the socioeconomic crisis and should, to this end, adopt its own program of action with those appointed to carry out the tasks and with the schedules for their performance.

The conference also proposes that the LCY Central Committee should examine all the initiatives and proposals put forward in the debate, as well as those that go beyond the framework of the conference but are of importance for the work of the LC as a whole. The conference accepts the members' critical assessment that these proposals should not be ignored as has been the case in some earlier debates.

It is incumbent upon the LCY Central Committee to review, before the end of the year how this conference's theses on the necessary reforms in the economic and political system and the changes in the content and method of LCY work are being implemented. These are a precondition for society's emergence from the crisis. It should also review how Communists react to these tasks. The LCY Central Committee will inform the LC membership and the public as a whole of its assessments. If the LCY Central Committee concludes that the results are unsatisfactory, then it is obliged, proceeding from its

own role and the role of the LCY in society, to establish political responsibility for that and set in motion a process of establishing the political responsibility of the central committees of the republican LCS, of the LC provincial committees, and of members of the LC in institutions of the system; and it must vigorously and decisively make use of all statutory opportunities and obligations for consistent implementation of the LC policy on all issues.

The conference calls upon all Communists and working people of Yugoslavia to take a consistent part in overcoming the socioeconomic crisis and to be the instigators and protagonists of the broadest creative action, for the sake of the more stable development of our society and in order to strengthen socialist self-managing democratic relations, equality, brotherhood, and unity of the nations and nationalities, and the independent and nonaligned policy of our country in international relations.